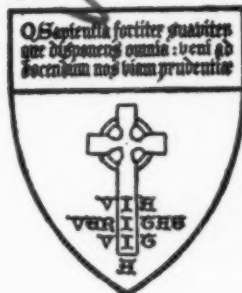


# NOTE Anglican Theological Review

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# Anglican Theological Review

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## THE MAIN LITERARY PROBLEM OF THE LUCAN INFANCY STORY

By PAUL WINTER

London

The question of the literary origin of the Nativity and Infancy Narratives in the Third Gospel has been asked many times, and has been answered in various ways. Lately this problem has been discussed with some vigor by writers of all shades of opinion.<sup>1</sup> An informative survey of varying views, by authors ancient and modern, on the subject of sources and composition of Luke 1 and 2 may be found in the Abbé René Laurentin's book *Structure et théologie de Luc I—II*.<sup>2</sup> The Abbé Laurentin commands a wider knowledge of the literature on this subject than I do, and I may be excused if I refer to the bulky bibliographical index of his book<sup>3</sup> instead of listing views by this or that author. Only the main divisions of opinion can be indicated here.

Few scholars now hold the view that chapters 1 and 2 of the Third Gospel are a later addition to the work of the Third Evangelist, made by a writer other than the composer of chapters 3-24. The dispute at

<sup>1</sup>Salvador Muñoz Iglesias, "Géneros literarios en los Evangelios," *Estudios Bíblicos* 13 (1954), 289-318; Jean-Paul Audet, O.P., "L'annonce à Marie," *Revue biblique*, 63 (1956), 346-374; Salvador Muñoz Iglesias, "Los Evangelios de la Infancia y las infancias de los héroes," *Estudios Bíblicos*, 16 (1957), 5-36; René Laurentin, "Traces d'allusions étymologiques en Luc 1-2," *Biblica* 37 (1956), 435-456, and 38 (1957), 1-23; Pierre Benoît, O.P., "L'Enfance de Jean-Baptiste selon Luc 1," *New Testament Studies*, 3 (1957), 169-194; M. D. Goulder and M. L. Sanderson, "St. Luke's Genesis" *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 8, (1957), 12-30; Juan Prado, "The Proto-Source of Luke 1," *Seferad*, 12, (1957), 393-395.

<sup>2</sup>René Laurentin, "Structure et théologie de Luc I-II," *Études bibliques* (Paris, 1957).

<sup>3</sup>O.c., pp. 191 to 223.

present is whether or not the Evangelist, when composing the first two chapters of his Gospel, had any literary sources at his disposal, and—if so—of what provenance these sources were. Some postulate the use of ultimately Hebrew, or Aramaic, sources; some maintain that Hellenistic legends, written in Greek, furnished the Third Evangelist with his materials; and some argue that the Evangelist used no documentary sources at all, but that his account of the births of John the Baptist and of Jesus is either based on oral traditions or represents a meditative digestion of certain disconnected Old Testament passages which somehow rearranged themselves in the Evangelist's mind to the compact narrative of Luke 1 and 2. Although this last view might commend itself to readers who wish to evade the necessity of investigating the Third Evangelist's use of non-Marcian sources, it is not difficult to show the fallacy of such an approach. The tone of the narratives in Luke 1 and 2 is so markedly Palestinian-Jewish, the writer's familiarity with the customs and folklore of Judaea's inhabitants so exact that an outsider—and the Third Evangelist was obviously not a Palestinian—would have been unable to capture the atmosphere so convincingly. There exists a legend of the birth of rabbi Yishmael which has not, so far as I know, been compared with the story narrated in Luke, though there are features in both accounts that show remarkable similarity.<sup>4</sup> *Rabh' Elisha' kohen gadôl* and his wife are childless; one day when Elisha's wife leaves the *bêth hammiqveh* (bath-house for women), she sees the angel Gabriel standing at the door. The rabbinical legend is not an exact counterpart to the Lucan story; the angel brings no message to the childless woman, and no miracle beyond that of the angel's apparition is implied. After the appearance of the angel Gabriel to her, Elisha's wife conceives and in due course bears a son who receives the name Yishmael. We have no certainty about the identity of the person *Yishma'el ben 'Elisha' kohen gadôl* and do not know when he lived. The Midrash of the Ten Martyrs may have been written much later, but that part which describes the events preceding Yishmael's birth appears to have originated before the destruction of the Temple in the year 70. The anachronism in the title of Yishmael's father—*Rabh' 'Elisha' kohen gadôl*—appears to indicate that the rabbinical author confused persons of the same name who lived in different times, and that he related to a rabbi of the name

<sup>4</sup>Published in Adolf Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash. Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der älteren jüdischen Literatur. Sechster Teil* (Wien 1878), pp. 19-35, on p. 21.

Yishmael ben Elisha a tradition from an older legend which originally referred to a priest. No high-priest named Elisha is mentioned in Josephus' writings.<sup>6</sup> And yet, though we have no certainty as to the period in which the story of Yishmael's birth originated, it is of significance that Yishmael's father, like John's father, was a priest. Gabriel's rôle in both accounts suggests that both stories had arisen in a common environment, in the Judaism of Palestine. No readings from the Old Testament, however extensive, could have made a writer unfamiliar with Jewish lore choose "Gabriel" as the name of the angel who appears to a childless woman before she conceived.

There is also a profound difference between what we might call 'the historical outlook' of the Third Evangelist—as expressed in various parts of Luke 3-24 (*e.g.* Luke 21-24) and in the Acts of the Apostles—and the expectation from history characteristic of the person who was responsible for assorting the narratives in Luke 1 and 2. What could have induced a writer who wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, after the loss of the last vestiges of Jewish statehood, gratuitously to invite contradiction by introducing a celestial messenger who announces that Jesus would occupy the throne of David and that he (or his descendants, in the true style of analogous Old Testament prophecies) would rule for ever over the House of Jacob? The retention of this prophecy (Luke 1:32f.) in a Gospel written after the year 70 cannot possibly be explained otherwise than by the use of sources which the writer of the Third Gospel incorporated in his own composite work, and which he was faithful enough to preserve—however his concept of history differed from that of his sources and however the changed conditions of his time made the prophecy unlikely of fulfilment.

Oral traditions might have preceded the composition of the Third Gospel; the Evangelist could have collected and recast such traditions. But a writer who makes use of oral traditions in his literary work would hardly draw on such oral traditions as would appear to be at variance with subsequent historical events; he would show care in his selection. The case would be different if a writer received a literary document and was convinced of its antiquity, or authenticity. If he was at all anxious to preserve such a document (*cf.* Luke 1:1-4), he

<sup>6</sup>Josephus mentions Ismael, son of Phabi, as a high-priest under Valerius Gratus, shortly after Judaea's incorporation into the Roman Empire, and another high-priest of the same name under Felix and Porcius Festus, from the last years of Judaea's existence as a separate Roman province.

would retain as exactly as possible its phraseological and thematical characteristics, no matter how much his own sense of style and his own knowledge of subsequent events departed from those of the author of the original document.

These considerations persuade us to believe that the Third Evangelist used sources for his account of the births of John and Jesus, sources that took their rise in a Palestinian-Jewish environment.<sup>6</sup>

In Luke 1 we have a literary tableau in which the event of Jesus' birth is related to that of the birth of John the Baptist. The first reactions by the respective parents to the angel's appearance are the same. In numerous instances the same terms are applied to the personal development (Luke 1:80; 2:40, 52) and the significance (Luke 1:15-17; 31-32aa, 35) of both figures. Their qualities and characteristics are expressed in quasi-identical terms (though the *extant* text of Luke 1:31-33, 35-37 appears to be a magnification of the message in Luke 1:13-17). It is not to be assumed that an estimate of Jesus' person originating amongst followers of Jesus would have attributed to some other person, in this case the Baptist, qualities of the same type as those assigned to Jesus. A tradition that was from its beginning shaped by messianists (= *Christianoi*) would have stressed the uniqueness of the Messiah, especially as concerning the events that preceded his birth. The fact that there is in Luke 1 a close correspondence in the celestial announcements preceding the two nativities requires an explanation. In "primitive Christian" (*urgemeindlich*) and Judaec-Christian theology John the Baptist was the forerunner of Jesus the Messiah. A writer with a Jewish-Christian background could thus be assumed to have had no objection to bringing the birth stories of the two religious leaders into correlation. He would, however, not have done so after the manner of Luke 1:5-80, 2:1-20, allowing as much space to John as to Jesus and describing their status

<sup>6</sup>I may briefly refer here to various notes which I have previously published on this subject: "Magnificat and Benedictus—Maccabaeian Psalms?" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 37 (1954), 328-347, "Some Observations on the Language in the Birth and Infancy Stories of the Third Gospel," *New Testament Studies*, 1 (1954), 111-121; "Luke 2, 49 and Targum Yerushalmi," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 45 (1954), 145-179, with corrections in vol. 46 (1955), 140 f., "The Cultural Background of the Narrative in Luke I and II," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 45, (1954-55), 159-167, 230-242 and 287; the printed article contains regrettably a number of alterations in the manuscript made without my knowledge; "Hoti 'recitativum' in Luke 1, 25.61; 1, 23" *ZNW* 46 (1955), pp. 261-263, "The Proto-Sources of Luke I," *Novum Testamentum*, 1 (1956), 184-199; "On Luke and Lucan Sources," *ZNW*, 47 (1956), pp. 217-242; "Acta 15, 14 und die lukanische Kompositionstechnik," *Evangelische Theologie*, 17 (1957), (399-406), "Lukanische Miscellen," *ZNW* 49 (1958), 65-77.

in terms that made little or no distinction between their relative significance. The predominant interest in the person of John can, however, be explained if we assume that there existed a literary document emanating from the circle of the Baptist's followers, and that a person who belonged to the circle of Jesus' followers merely utilized such a document by slightly adapting it and enlarging it so as to suit circumstances appropriate to more exalted claims. The angelic announcement of a child's birth to the child's mother was originally—*i.e.* in the Baptist Story—only a repetition of the announcement to the child's father: in the Judaeo-Christian adaptation of the original story it now became enhanced, grew from mere repetition to gradation, its import being grandified in antithetic parallelism. This adaptation can scarcely have been made by the Third Evangelist himself; the sections in Luke 1 and 2 that deal with Jesus' birth and childhood express a theological conception of Jesus quite different from that of the Evangelist—no "evolution" could have led from one to the other. We have therefore to postulate an intermediary redactor whose adaptation of the Baptist Document furnished the Third Evangelist with the materials now included in Luke 1-2.

The work of the intermediary editor can most easily be detected in the sections Luke 1:26-38, 39-56 and Luke 2:4-20. Here the motifs of "messianic expectation" are more pronounced than in the other parts of the Lucan Infancy Story (messianic motifs are also evident in Luke 2:22-39). The "messianism" of Luke 1:32f and 2:4-20 is of a distinctive type: only here do echoes from Micah come to the fore. In Luke 1:32, an undertone derived from Micah 4:7, 5:2 and 4 is still perceptible to the attentive ear; Luke 2:4 and 8 contain expressions that come from Micah 4:10;<sup>7</sup> the entire pericope Luke 2:4-20 has clearly been composed by a person who had Micah 4:8-10; 5:2-9 in mind and who perhaps combined motifs of the Micah prophecies with those derived from a local Shepherd Legend. The formative influence of Mican ideas and Mican motifs is one of the characteristics of the intermediary redactor who adopted the Baptist narrative and adapted it to his own purposes.<sup>8</sup> This writer was little more than a *redactor*; he radically altered the source (or, considering that he added Luke 2:22-39 and 2:41-51a to the story underlying Luke 1:5-80, we might say "sources") which he used, without however showing any of the ar-

<sup>7</sup>See *New Testament Studies*, 1 (1954), 116f. *JQR*, 45 (1955), 238-241.

<sup>8</sup>I designated the "intermediary redactor" by the name "Nazarene adapter"; see *Novum Testamentum*, 1 (1956), 186.

tistic genius exemplified by the writer of the Baptist Story (source of 1:5-80). His function lay in suffusing the various sources he combined with a "messianic" spirit and in bringing out the superiority of Jesus to John the Baptist. He completely reversed the original import of some of the lines in the Baptist Document—they can still be discerned even in the Greek text of Luke by their superior rhythmic quality. The words in 1:45 for instance must originally have been spoken *to* Elisabeth, by the angel, not *by* Elisabeth. The angel announced the birth of John first to Zacharias, then to Elisabeth. Zacharias disbelieved, and was punished; Elisabeth believed—and was highly commended.<sup>9</sup> The section 1:39-46a, 56 has been converted by the Judaeo-Christian adapter of the Baptist Document from a narration of Elisabeth's joyful exultation about her impending motherhood and the predicted greatness of her son (1:46b-55) and her return to Zacharias (1:56) into a description of a meeting between the mothers of John and Jesus. This transformation, or modification, was not made along logical lines. Mary, in the adapter's story, having heard that her kinswoman is with child (1:36) departs in haste (1:39) to visit Elisabeth—apparently to be with her at her confinement. But just before Elisabeth is actually to give birth (1:57; compare the time indications in verses 26 and 56), Mary again leaves her cousin and she disappears from the story not to reappear until after John's birth. At this point it is evident that the Judaeo-Christian intermediary writer's account has been superimposed upon an older narrative in which Mary had no part at all. The logic of the narrative is improved if his additions are disregarded: Elisabeth hides from her husband and leaves Zacharias' house (1:24); the angel appears to her, announces the great destiny of her unborn son, and exhorts her to return to Zacharias (1:26-32a, 35, 38a, 45, 38b); Elisabeth rejoices (1:46-55) and returns (1:56). John is born (1:57) and to the astonishment of their neighbours both parents choose the same unfamiliar name for their son, the name which the angel had intimated separately to Zacharias (1:13) and to Elisabeth (1:31); the miracle behind the choice of this name is noted by the neighbours (1:63b, 65-66). Zacharias now, having acted in faith and obedience to the celestial command, is relieved of his impediment (1:64), and praises God in a hymn that constitutes a symmetric parallel to the earlier lyrical thankoffering by the child's mother (1:68-79).

<sup>9</sup>It was of course easier for Elisabeth to believe the angel as she was already in the sixth month of her pregnancy (Luke 1:26) when she received his message. Angelic rulings are beyond mere earthly criticism.



Even among scholars who approach the problem of the literary composition of Luke 1 and 2 from a 'conservative' standpoint the opinion has gained ground that various sections of this narrative follow a certain pattern.<sup>10</sup> The origin of this pattern must be sought in the Old Testament. But we should not overlook the fact that the O. T. circulated not only in literary form among the learned, but also in midrashic form for the edification of the unlearned, and that in its oral tradition it was often embellished and enlarged by popular motifs. The stories of the birth of Isaac, of Moses, of Samson, of Samuel, and other O. T. heroes were passed on from mouth to mouth and thus came to be assimilated to each other in current narratives. Traits from one story were combined with traits from another. Circumstantial details were added. From time to time these stories were committed to writing, and all the amplifications that had accumulated around the canonical accounts were included in popular new versions. The recently discovered Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran,<sup>11</sup> the Book of Jubilees, the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* by Pseudo-Philo,<sup>12</sup> and later Midrashim bear witness to a development of this kind. It is the way in which popular narratives come to grow together. The same phenomenon can be observed in our own time, with regard to New Testament stories. There are children's books retelling the Story of Jesus, features from Mark and John and Luke and Matthew being all woven together into one fabric of many colours. Similarly the stories from the Old Testament about the birth of prominent men were legendarily enlarged so as to produce folklore for the edification of a Jewish public in ancient Israel. These legends provided most of the subject matter for the description of Jesus' birth both in Matthew and Luke. Whilst in Matthew chiefly legends about the birth of Moses served as the prototype, or model, for describing the birth of the New Moses, in Luke it is a popular narration of Samson's birth which was utilized firstly in a description of the birth of John the Baptist and later after being adapted by a Judaeo-Christian redactor came into the hands of the Third Evangelist. He finally employed it, without any significant changes on his part, in the first two chapters of his Gospel.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Jean-Paul Audet, O.P., "L'Annonce à Marie," *Revue biblique*, 63 (1956), 346-374.

<sup>11</sup>Five columns from this scroll have been edited so far; see Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin: *A Genesis Apocryphon. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem, 1956).

<sup>12</sup>See Guido Kisch, *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1949).



It is reasonable to conclude that behind the narrative in Luke 1 and 2 there lies a document that was originally composed in Hebrew, and that this document was not all of a piece, but represents interrelated traditions from divers sources and is the work of at least two different writers. And this means that profitable discussion can only concern either *the extent* of the underlying source or *the adaptations of and additions to the source*, made firstly by the "Nazarene adapter," secondly by the Evangelist himself. The stages in the development of the source, before it reached the Evangelist, the nature of the stratification of its various parts that had emanated from different authors with divers backgrounds and religious motives—these are matters still calling for more detailed examination. The discussion must be limited to these points whilst we continue—so long as the unfailing light of supernatural revelation is withheld from our eyes—to "grope in the dark"<sup>13</sup> in an endeavour to find a satisfactory *literary solution* for our problem.

## LUTHER AND THE FIRST PRINTED ENGLISH BIBLE: EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS\*

By HEINZ BLUM  
Yale University

There is a great deal of uncertainty and even misunderstanding abroad about the influence of Martin Luther upon the first printed English Bible published by Myles Coverdale in 1535. Opinions of the most eminent students of the history of the English Bible vary considerably. They range all the way from an almost indignant denial of any influence whatsoever to the recognition that in some parts such as the First Epistle of John there are traces of specifically Lutheran origin.

What accounts for this bewildering diversity of scholarly views? The answer to this legitimate question is simple enough: a lack of close analysis and, consequently, of reliable information. It is true of

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Juan Prado in *Sefarad*, 12 (1957), 395.

\*The author did the research for this investigation in Europe in 1957, as a Guggenheim Fellow.

course that the subject of the literary evolution of the English Bible is so vast that no single scholar can hope to do it full justice. At least none has so far. Though an impressively large number of books and essays have been written on the English Bible, which together with Luther's German Bible is probably the most distinguished Protestant version in the world, all of them fall short of their goal in one respect or other.

One of the more serious shortcomings in the majority of these studies is a failure to recognize the considerable debt which the important first printed English Bible owes to the literary genius of Martin Luther. If this is true of the responsible work of original scholars, it applies still more to the many popularizers in this field. It is not surprising that a topic of as wide and enduring interest as the English Bible should have attracted and should continue to attract a host of other than scholarly writers. If even scholars in the field, because of the magnitude of the task involved, allowed themselves rather greater dependence upon the work of their predecessors than is customary in studies of English literary history, it is perhaps not unusual that the popularizers and summarizers should have been content with merely repeating the results of the labors of their more learned colleagues. While there is thus a comprehensive literature on the subject of the English Bible, a good deal of it is little more than repetition of previous work.

There is disappointingly little discussion of the influence of Luther on the English Bible in general and on the first printed edition of 1535 in particular. What has been investigated with some care is the important matter of Luther's definite influence upon the first printed English New Testament of William Tindale. But no systematic study has yet been undertaken to the best of my knowledge of the still greater and even more palpable influence Luther exerted on Myles Coverdale, the creator of the first complete printed Bible in the English language.

It is my intention to discuss the nature and the extent of Coverdale's debt to Martin Luther in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. The state of research in this area is such that it is necessary to begin at the beginning, i.e., by subjecting a clearly circumscribed section of the Scriptures to close scrutiny. The time for generalizations, desirable as they are, is far away. What we need first is a series of careful analyses of limited scope. The initial investigation is offered here. It should be borne in mind that whatever conclusions are arrived at in the course of this particular study are in all likelihood not applicable to the Bible as a whole, as a matter of fact not even to the New Testament as a

whole. Speaking quite strictly, they apply only to the Epistle to the Galatians. It is hoped, however, that the method here employed may prove helpful to other investigators. Only after all the other books of the Bible have been analyzed in this fashion shall we be able to sketch the full picture of the relation of the first printed English Bible to the German Bible of Martin Luther.

In order to present the essential evidence it will be best to discuss each chapter by itself first. Only then, after such inductive procedure, will a strictly limited generalization be undertaken applicable only to the Epistle to the Galatians.

#### GALATIANS I

The first problem we must face is that of the relation between the two editions of Tindale's New Testament which were available to Coverdale in 1535. What are the differences if any, between Tindale's first edition of 1525 and the second of 1534? Inasmuch as Tindale's great translation was in all probability the basic English text with which Coverdale started his own work, it is important for us to be fully informed about the first two Tindale editions.

Of the 24 verses of the first chapter, as many as 18 are identical in both editions. Only six differ: 2, 5, 10, 14, 18, 24. For the first chapter we shall discuss all changes between the two editions. In the other chapters only a selection will be presented.

#### 1:2

Tindale 1525: congregacion

Tindale 1534: congregacions

In 1534 Tindale corrected an obvious error of his first edition: the Greek text as published by Erasmus has the plural *tais ekklesiâis*. There were, however, editions of the Vulgate which had this noun in the singular, and it is not impossible that Tindale in 1525 was still under the influence of the Vulgate. It is also possible that this was just an oversight or a misprint.

#### 1:5

Tindale 1525: for ever

Tindale 1534: for ever and ever

This is doubtless primarily a stylistic change. Tindale's second edition is the first occurrence of the well-known phrase that still survives in the King James Bible.

#### 1:10

Tindale 1525: Seke I nowethe faveoure offmen or off God?

Tindale 1534: Preache I mannes doctrine or Godes?

The translation contained in Tindale's first edition is rather literal, at least when compared with the second edition. It appears to be based on the Greek *peithô*, for the Latin *suadeo* could hardly yield *Seke I the favoure*. The revision of 1534 is manifestly a free rendering, the verb *preache* almost certainly suggested by Luther's *predige*.

## 1:14

Tindale 1525: and moche more fevently (*sic!*) mayntayned the tradicions

Tindale 1534: and was a moche more fervent mayntener of the tradicions

The first edition with its verbal construction is free in comparison with the second edition's substantive translation of the Greek *zêlôtêr*.

## 1:18

Tindale 1525: I returned to Jerusalem unto Peter

Tindale 1534: I returned to Jerusalem to se Peter

The first edition is free in its substitution of the dative phrase for the verb-plus-accusative construction of the Greek text *historêsai Petron*, which he follows in the revision of 1534.

## 1:24

Tindale 1525: they glorified God in me

Tindale 1534: they glorified God on my behalffe

The first edition is strictly literal, the second is free.

What interests us primarily in this connection is naturally what Coverdale does in the face of these differences between the first and second editions of Tindale's New Testament, the principal source of his own translation. Of the six passages briefly discussed above, Coverdale follows Tindale's second edition in all but the last: in Gal. 1:24 he 'preferred' Tindale's original *in me* to his later *on my behalffe*. It is of course impossible to insist that the source of Coverdale's *in me* is exclusively or even primarily Tindale's original *in me* since the Vulgate also has *in me*. All we can say safely is that Coverdale in one passage out of six, in which Tindale's first and second editions diverge, is not in agreement with Tindale's second version (with which the other five agree) but with the first edition or with the Vulgate, both of which are identical in this phrase.

So far as the question of which edition of Tindale Coverdale followed is concerned, we can state that, for the first chapter of Galatians, it was in all probability the second revised version of 1534. The evidence points strongly in this direction. It should naturally be remem-

bered that we are speaking only on the basis of those passages in which the two Tindale editions under review here differ one from the other.

The next problem to be considered is the question of Coverdale's relation to the Tindale text, i.e., probably the second edition of 1534. It is quite clear that Coverdale's version of 1535 is by no means identical with the Tindale translation of 1534 or, for that matter, of 1525. There are in fact a considerable number of divergences from Tindale. Of the 24 verses of the first chapter, as many as 20 depart to a greater or lesser extent from the Tindale text of 1534, the edition probably used by Coverdale. Only four or as little as one-sixth of the chapter are taken over without change. In other words, with the exception of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and fifteenth verses, each verse of the first chapter shows some alteration. In the light of this fact it is hardly possible to agree with a British scholar's claim that the whole of the N. T. in Coverdale's Bible contains practically Tindale's text. This sweeping statement surely does not apply to the first chapter of Galatians, in which five-sixths of the verses differ in some way or other in the Coverdale and Tindale versions.

If one counts phrases or words rather than verses, there are actually as many as 37 passages in which Coverdale diverges from Tindale. Of these 37, the preponderant majority, 27 to be exact, are in full agreement with Luther's German text. However, not all of these necessarily go back to Luther alone. As a matter of fact, as many as 19 could, theoretically at least, have a double provenance: the Vulgate and/or Luther. Since, however, there is not a single case where Coverdale follows the Vulgate against Luther, and since there are on the other hand a number of cases in which Coverdale follows Luther against the Vulgate, it would seem reasonable to conclude that it is more likely that these nineteen Vulgate-identical-with-Luther cases are Lutheran rather than Vulgate in origin. But there can be no final certainty in this matter because the evidence is, in the nature of the case, inconclusive. We can only speak of probability here.

There are, however, a number of what seem to me quite clear cases in the first chapter where Coverdale manifestly uses Luther's version alone. In these passages, in which Luther departs more or less radically from the Vulgate, Luther is almost certainly the source of Coverdale's divergence from the Tindale text. In view of the primary relevance of these passages to the subject of this essay, the most important of them will be discussed in some detail.

## 1:9

Vulgate: Sicut praediximus, et nunc iterum dico

Greek (Erasmus' text of 1519): hōs proeirēkamen, kai arti palin legō

Erasmus' Latin translation of 1519: identical with the Vulgate

Tindale 1525: As I sayde before/so saye I nowe agayne

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Tindale was apparently unhappy about Paul's 'inconsistency' in shifting from the plural proeirēkamen to the singular legō. He decided to regularize the irregularity by putting both verbs in the singular: *I sayde . . . saye I*.

Coverdale also saw fit to regularize, but diverging from Tindale he preferred to use the plural in both cases:

Coverdale: As we have sayde afore, so saye we now agayne

In this decision he followed (if indeed he followed anyone) Luther rather than Tindale, the former rendering the line as follows: "Wie wir . . . gesagt haben, so sagen wyr. . . ."

## 1:16

Vulgate: ut evangelizarem illum

Erasmus' Latin: ut praedicarem ipsum

Greek: hina evangelizōmai auton

Tindale 1525: that I shuld preache him

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale departs from Tindale's version by adding a significant phrase: Coverdale: that I shulde preach him thorow the Gospell

The origin of these additional words is clearly Lutheran. Only Luther, of all sources indicated above, made the bold insertion: *durchs Euangelion*. This apparently appealed to Coverdale so much that he decided to use the Lutheran expansion in his own translation.

## 1:22

Vulgate: ecclesiis iudaeae quae erant in Christo

Erasmus: identical with Vulgate

Greek: tais ekklesiiais tēs Ioudaias tais en Christō.

Tindale 1525: vnto the congregacions of Jewrye which were in Christ

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale's version is a startling departure from Tindale: Coverdale: to ye Christen congregacions in Jewrye.

While differing radically from Tindale, Coverdale is in full agreement with Luther who has this phrase: "den Christlichen gemeynen ynn Judea."

What did Luther do to produce this amazing version? He converted

the Greek phrase *tais en Christô*, which the Vulgate and Tindale rendered quite traditionally by a relative clause ("quae erant in Christo; which were in Christ"), with audacious simplicity into an adjective, *Christlichen*, preceding the noun *gemeynen*. Coverdale, a superior stylist in his own right, was apparently taken with this Lutheran phrase and reproduced it faithfully in his own Bible: *Christen congregacions*.

## 1:24

Vulgate: et . . . clarificabant deum

Erasmus: et glorificabant . . . deum

Greek: kai edoxason . . . ton theon

Tindale 1525: and they glorified God . . .

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale replaced *glorified* by *praysed*: "and they prayesd God." Inasmuch as Luther has "vnd preysseten Got," it would seem reasonable to assume that his *preysseten* is primarily responsible for Coverdale's *praysed*.

## GALATIANS 2

Of the 21 verses in the second chapter 13 are identical in the two Tindale editions of 1525 and 1534, with eight verses showing divergences between these principal Tindale texts. Differences occur in the following verses: 1, 2, 4, 9, 11, 14, 16, 21. Of these eight changes six are of a relatively minor stylistic nature and need not be discussed in this connection. Only two, vss. 9 and 14, are sufficiently important to be presented here.

## 2:9

Tindale 1525: and as sone as James, Cephas, and Jhon which seemed to be pilares perceaved the grace that was geven vnto me they gave to me and Barnabas their hondes . . .

Tindale 1534: and therefore when they perceaved the grace that was geven vnto me, then James, Cephas and John, which seemed to be pilers, gave to me and Barnabas the ryght hondes . . .

Tindale's second edition contains a major stylistic revision of the first. The sentence structure is completely changed, and the adjective *ryght* is inserted before the noun *hondes*. The edition of 1534 is closer to the Greek original than the first edition; it is definitely more literal than the first.

## 2:14

Tindale 1525: why causest thou the gentyls to folowe the Jewes?

Tindale 1534: why causest thou the gentyls to live as do the Jewes?

Both renderings, "to folowe the Jewes" and "to live as do the Jewes,"



are honest efforts to express in idiomatic English a single Greek verb, *ioudaizein*. The Vulgate offered no help here at all by simply retaining the verb *iudaizare*. Tindale's two successive attempts are creditable, with the second perhaps preferable to the first. It is quite likely that Tindale, in evaluating his first rendering, decided to cast his lot with Luther who has the verb *leben*. At any rate, he replaced *folowe* by *live*.

So far as these eight passages are concerned, Coverdale follows the second edition of Tindale rather than the first, with the exception of verses nine and eleven in which he is independent of Tindale altogether. There is no evidence, in the second chapter, that Coverdale made use of Tindale's first edition.

It should be clearly understood, however, that agreement in these passages does not mean agreement in these verses as a whole. There is not a single verse in the entire second chapter in which Coverdale does not depart to some degree from Tindale. Contrary to the situation in the first chapter, in which four verses were left unchanged by Coverdale, every single verse of the second chapter underwent some change. There is, to be exact, a total of 50 changes in individual passages in this chapter. Of these, ten cannot be attributed to any source known to me and should probably be credited to Coverdale himself. But the preponderant majority of the changes, 40 in number, are in full agreement with Luther's text. Fourteen of these 40 also agree with the Vulgate. For 26 of the 40 Luther's Bible alone appears to be the source of Coverdale's translation. It is these 26 changes in which we are primarily interested. We shall select some of them for detailed discussion.

## 2:2

Vulgate: *seorsum autem his qui videbantur aliquid esse*

Erasmus: *sed privatim cum iis qui erant in precio*

Greek: *kat' idian de tois dokousin*

Tindale 1525: but apart with them which are counted chefe

Tindale 1534: but apart with them which were counted chefe

Coverdale's phrase is markedly different from Tindale's.

Coverdale: but specially with them which were in reputacion

It would seem that Luther's text provided the basis for this version: "besonders aber mit denen, die das ansehen hatten." We are not discussing, in this connection, the origin of Luther's excellent rendering. If we were, one would probably refer to Erasmus' Latin version as at least a partial inspiration for Luther's delightfully free translation. It

is not inconceivable that Erasmus was not without direct influence upon Coverdale himself in this instance. Of Coverdale's indirect debt to Erasmus, via Luther's German, there can hardly be any doubt. However, so far as any direct influence is concerned, it would appear to be Lutheran rather than Erasmian: Coverdale's *specially* is closer to Luther's *besonders* than to Erasmus' *privatim*.

## 2:6a

Vulgate: Deus enim personam hominis non accipit

Erasmus: Personam hominis deus non accipit

Greek: prosôpon anthrôpou theos ou lambanei

Tindale 1525: God loketh on no mans person

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale made a major change in this passage.

Coverdale: For God loketh not on the outwarde apperaunce of men.

The chief source for this astonishing departure from Tindale would seem to be Luther's phrase, "das ansehen der menschen." It is true that Coverdale has an additional word, *outwarde*, before *apperaunce*. This is not a very troublesome matter, however, because Coverdale never was a slavish follower. He had a mind of his own and was quite prepared to proceed with some independence as he so obviously did in this particular case. Luther gave him the idea, and Coverdale developed it further on his own.

## 2:6b

Vulgate: mihi . . . nihil contulerunt

Erasmus: identical with Vulgate

Greek: emoi . . . ouden prosanethento

Tindale 1525: added nothyng to me

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale has an altogether different rendering of this concluding phrase of the sixth verse.

Coverdale: taught me nothinge

The verb *taught* is surely surprising! A glance at Luther's Bible supplies the answer, for here we find: *nichts . . . geletet*. We need look no further.

## 2:15

Vulgate: Nos natura iudai

Erasmus: identical with Vulgate

Greek: hêmeis phusei Ioudaioi

Tindale 1525: We which are Jewes by nature

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale turns this passage into a concessive clause.

Coverdale: Though we be Jewes by nature

In this noteworthy change he clearly follows Luther's example: "Wie wol wyr von natur Juden . . . sind." Coverdale is quite willing, on occasion, to take over a whole Lutheran sentence structure, though that may represent a radical departure from Tindale and the other translators.

2:16a

Vulgate: Scientes . . .

Erasmus: quoniam scimus . . .

Greek: eidotes . . .

Tindale 1525: We . . . knowe . . .

Tindale 1534: Identical with 1525

Coverdale begins his sentence differently.

Coverdale: yet in so moch as we knowe

The introductory *yet* was almost necessary after Coverdale had changed, following Luther, the preceding sentence to a concessive clause, "Though we be. . . ." He now merely relates the main clause to it by starting out with *yet*. In this he again kept close to Luther, who has this phrase: "doch weyl wyr wissen." Thus Luther's entire sentence structure, ranging over two verses, was incorporated by Coverdale into his rendering. He obviously preferred it to all other versions accessible to him.

2:16b

Vulgate: per fidem Jesu Christi

Erasmus: identical with Vulgate

Greek: dia pisteôs Iêsou Christou

Tindale 1525: by the fayth of Jesus Christ

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale made a minor though very interesting change.

Coverdale: by the faith on Jesus Christ

This substitution of *on* for *of* may not appear to be a very important change on the face of it. But it really is. The changing of a genitive to a prepositional phrase is one of Luther's favorite devices. It is so characteristically Lutheran that, even when taken by itself, it almost invariably indicated dependence on the German Bible. Luther's phrase here is: "durch den glawben an Jhesu Christ."

The ten changes made by Coverdale for which there are no Lutheran examples are strictly stylistic. In other words, in the second chapter Coverdale made no important independent changes over against the

Tindale text. Whenever there is a significant departure from Tindale in this chapter, it is always due either to Luther alone or to both Luther and the Vulgate agreeing with each other against Tindale.

#### GALATIANS 3

There are 29 verses in the third chapter, 17 of which are identical in the two Tindale versions of 1525 and 1534. That is to say, as many as twelve show some divergence or other in these two editions: 2, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 27, 28.

Of these twelve, all but two are quite minor and need not concern us here. Only verses 19 and 28 are important enough to be discussed in this connection.

#### 3:19

Tindale 1525: tyll the seed came vnto which seede the promes was made

Tindale 1534: tyll the seed came to which the promes was made

The revised edition dropped the second occurrence of the word *seede*, which is not found in either the Greek or the Vulgate. The revision was thus in the direction of greater accuracy. Coverdale is in agreement with Tindale's second edition, in accordance with his general practice.

#### 3:28

Tindale 1525: Now is ther no Jewe nether Greke

Tindale 1534: Now is ther no Jewe nether gentyle

In this phrase, the first edition is more literal than the second. The Greek original has *Hellên* and the Vulgate *graecus*. Coverdale uses the work *Greke*, perhaps not so much because he found it in Tindale's first edition but because it occurred in Luther's German version, *Krieche*. But this point cannot be established with anything even approaching certainty. It could also be argued that Coverdale preferred the Vulgate or Erasmus' Latin version to Tindale's second edition. In other words, in this particular case, as many as four possible sources could be adduced. The only thing of which we are sure is that Coverdale did not follow Tindale's revision of 1534.

So far as Coverdale's whole relation to Tindale in the third chapter is concerned, there are only two verses in which he merely reproduces Tindale's text of 1534: only vss. 9 and 16 are in full agreement. That is to say, as many as 29 verses of the chapter contain departures of some kind or other from the second edition of Tindale.

If we count phrases or words rather than verses different from Tindale, the surprising total of 69 emerges. Of these, 21 appear to be due

to Coverdale himself: at least none of the familiar sources accounts for any of these 21. That leaves the large number of 48 for which we are in a position to run down one or more sources.

All 48 can be accounted for by referring to Luther's German text. This is tantamount to saying that not a single one of these 48 requires that we go beyond the German Bible. It should be pointed out, however, that for 16 of them the Vulgate can also be considered a possible source; these are found in verses 2, 4, 7, 8 (two passages), 10, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21, 22, 24, 28 (two passages), 29. For two phrases, occurring in vss 7 and 28, Tindale's first version of 1525 could be the source besides Luther's German text. That is to say, while Luther suffices as the source for all 48 passages under review here, sixteen could also be explained on the basis of the Vulgate and two on the basis of Tindale's first edition. As in the first two chapters we shall also restrict ourselves in the third chapter to those passages for which Luther alone appears to be the source. That is the imposing total of 30 individual phrases or words occurring in the following verses: 1, 2, 3 (two passages), 4, 5 (two passages), 6, 7, 8, 10 (three passages), 11, 13, 14 (two passages), 17, 18 (three passages), 19, 20, 22, 25, 26 (two passages), 27, 28 (two passages). Only a selection from these will be discussed in detail.

## 3:3

Vulgate: Sic stulti estis, ut cum spiritu coeperitis, nunc carne consummini?

Erasmus: Adeo stulti estis, ut spiritu coeperitis, nunc carne consummini?

Greek: houtôs anoêtoi este? enarxamenoi pneumati nun sarki epitel-eisthe?

Tindale 1525: Are ye so vnwyse that after ye have begonne in the sprete ye wolde nowe . . .

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale departs from Tindale's sentence structure and models his after Luther's.

Coverdale: Are ye so vnwyse? Ye beganne in the sprete, wolde ye. . .

This structure corresponds closely to Luther's rendering reading as follows: "seyt yhr so vnverstendig? ym geyst habt yhr angefangen, wolt yhr denn ym fleysch. . ."

## 3:4

Vulgate: Tanta passi estis sine causa? si tamen sine causa

Erasmus: Tam multa passi esti frustra, si tamen & frustra

Greek: *tosauta epathete eikê? ei ge kai eikê*

Tindale 1525: So many things there ye have suffred in vayne, iff it be so that ye have suffred in vayne

Tindale 1534: So many things there ye have suffred in vayne, if that be vayne

Coverdale's version is completely different from both Tindale's first and second editions, which differ somewhat one from the other. His text hardly bears any relating to Tindale's at all.

Coverdale: Have ye suffred to moche in vayne? Yf it be els in vayne.

The first part of the verse can be explained on the basis of the Vulgate and Erasmus' Latin version as well as on Luther's German text which reads: "habt yhr denn so viel vmb sunst erlitten?" The second part, however, appears to be due very largely if not entirely to Luther alone: "Yf it be els in vayne" corresponds very closely to "ists anders vmbsonst." The word *els* in particular stems directly from the German Bible it would seem.

### 3:5

Vulgate: *et operatur virtutes in vobis*

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: *kai energôn dunameis en humin*

Tindale 1525: and worketh myracles amonge you

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Again Coverdale departs radically from Tindale in this passage:

Coverdale: and doth soch greate actes amonge you.

There can be little doubt of his indebtedness to Martin Luther's "vnd thutt solche thatten vnter euch." It is interesting to observe again that Coverdale does not imitate mechanically or slavishly. He inserts, on his own, the adjective *greate* between *soch* and *actes*. It will never do to underestimate Coverdale as an imaginative translator. He is a master of the well-turned phrase, without violating the inner meaning of the text. It can only enhance Luther's standing as a great translator that as able and aesthetically sensitive a man as Coverdale should have chosen to follow in Luther's footsteps as frequently as he did. Luther himself, had he known of this fact, would have been proud of so distinguished a disciple.

### 3:6

Vulgate: *et reputatum est illi*

Erasmus' Latin: & imputatum

Greek: *kai elogisthê autô*

Tindale 1525: and it was ascribed to him

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale saw fit to change the verb.

Coverdale: and it was counted to him

It is probable that *counted* was inspired primarily by Luther's phrase, "vnd es ist yhm gerechnet," although one should not rule out the Vulgate as a possible supplementary or even independent source.

### 3:10

Vulgate: Quicumque enim ex operibus legis sunt

Erasmus' Latin: Nam quotquot ex operibus legis sunt

Greek: hosoi gar ex ergôn nomou eisin

Tindale 1525: For as many as are vnder the dedes of the lawe

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Here is another radical departure from Tindale on the part of Coverdale. His rendering bears no resemblance to Tindale at all.

Coverdale: Fas as many as go aboute with the workes of the lawe

This phrase, so markedly different from Tindale, in all likelihood goes back to Luther and to Luther alone: "Denn alle die mit des gesetzts wercken vmbgehen." This case is so clear that it is superfluous to discuss it further. This is Luther speaking through the mouth of Myles Coverdale.

### 3:13

Vulgate: factus . . . maledictum

Erasmus' Latin: dum . . . factus est maledictum

Greek: genomenos . . . katara

Tindale 1525: and was made a cursed

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale's sentence structure differs from Tindale's. Instead of resolving the participle *factus* into a main clause as Tindale had done ("and was made . . ."), he turned it into a dependent clause.

Coverdale: when he became a curse

This procedure is in agreement with Luther's version which reads as follows: "da er wart eyn vermaledeyung." It is possible of course that Coverdale could also be indebted to Erasmus' Latin version reading "dum . . . factus est."

### 3:14

Vulgate: ut pollicitationem spiritus accipiamus

Erasmus' Latin: ut promissionem spiritus acciperemus

Greek: hina tēn epangelian tou pneumatōs labōmen

Tindale 1525: that we might receave the promes of the sprete

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525



Coverdale departs significantly from Tindale's translation, and he does so in a characteristically Lutheran manner. He turned a noun into a past participle serving as an adjective.

Coverdale: that we might so receave ye promysed sprete

This would seem to be a practically indisputable case of Luther's influence upon the Englishman. Only Martin Luther was bold enough to recast the original construction of a noun followed by a genitive into a noun (i.e. the original genitive) preceded by an 'adjective' (the original noun as an accusative object): "wyr also den verheyssen geyst emphiengen." Unless we wish to credit Coverdale himself with this audacious rendering, we must hold that this is the voice of Martin Luther speaking through the tongue of Myles Coverdale.

3:18a

Vulgate: Nam sic ex lege hereditas, iam non ex promissione

Erasmus' Latin: Nam si ex lege est hereditas, non iam est ex promissione

Greek: ei gar ek nomou hē kléronomia, ouketi ex epangelias

Tindale 1525: For yff the inheritaunce come of the lawe, it cometh not of promes

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

It is clear that the main problem in this part of the verse for the translator is what to do about the verbs which remain unexpressed in both the Greek and the Vulgate. Erasmus apparently felt the lack of a verb and supplied, in both clauses, the auxiliary *est*. Tindale, ingeniously, introduced a more colorful verb: *come* and *cometh*. Coverdale, again departing from Tindale, did not use one and the same verb but two different verbs.

Coverdale: For yf the inheritaunce be gotten by the lawe, then it is not geven by promes

Remembering that there is no explicit verb in either the original or the Vulgate, any verb or verbs supplied by Coverdale must either be of his own making or stem from some source. It seems quite definite that Coverdale again turned to Luther. In view of the excellence of Tindale's solution of the problem there really did not seem to be any necessity for Coverdale to dissociate himself from his distinguished predecessor, yet he apparently preferred Luther's handling of the matter. This is what Luther had done with this passage: "Dann so das erbe durch das gesetz erworben wurde, so wurde es nicht durch verheyssung geben." It would seem that Coverdale's *be gotten* is largely if not en-

irely due to Luther's *erworben wurde*; *geven* is of course in complete agreement with Luther's *geben*.

## 3:18b

Vulgate: Abrahæ autem per repromissionem donavit Deus

Erasmus' Latin: atque Abrahæ per promissionem donavit deus

Greek: Abraam di' epangelias kecharistai ho theos

Tindale 1525: But God gave it vnto Abraham by promes

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale kept Tindale's version as his basic text, but he added an important word not actually occurring in the Greek or Latin.

Coverdale: But God gave it freely vnto Abraham by promes

It was unmistakably Luther who was responsible for this 'liberty', for his rendering reads, "Got aber hats Abraham durch verheyssunge frey geschenckt." The addition of the adverb *frey* is manifestly a Lutheran feature: Luther's strong emphasis on God's free gift to man is fully brought out in his German Bible. Coverdale cheerfully retained Luther's heavy underscoring of this vital point of Lutheran theology.

## 3:20

Vulgate: Mediator autem unius non est

Erasmus' Latin: Intercessor autem unius non est

Greek: ho de mesitês henos ouk estin

Tindale 1525: A mediator is not a mediator of one

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale again makes a significant addition to the text.

Coverdale: A mediator is not a mediator of one onely

This was probably suggested to him by Luther's rendering: "Ein mittlerer aber ist nicht eyns eynigen mittlerer." Additions of this sort indicate quite plainly and convincingly the influence of Martin Luther on Myles Coverdale.

## 3:22

Vulgate: ut promissio ex fide Jesu Christi daretur credentibus

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: hina hê epangelia ek pisteôs Iêsou Christou dothê tois pisteuou-sin

Tindale 1525: that the promes by the fayth of Jesus Christ shuld be geven vnto them that beleve

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale's version represents a considerable departure from Tindale.

Coverdale: that the promes shulde come by the fayth on Jesus Christ,  
geven vnto them that beleve

This reconstructed passage comes almost certainly from Luther's rendering of the verse: "auff das die verheyssung keme, durch den glawben an Jhesum Christum, gegeben denen die da glewben." Luther inserted the verb *keme*, replaced the mere genitive *Jesu Christi* by a full prepositional construction, *an Jhesum Christum*, and completed the sentence by turning *daretur* into a past participle, *gegeben*. It was obviously Luther's endeavor to make Paul's tight sentence more explicit. Coverdale apparently was so impressed with this performance that he incorporated it in his own translation.

## 3:26

Vulgate: filii Dei

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: huiou theou

Tindale 1525: the sonnes of God

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale replaced *sonnes* by *children*. Since Luther alone of all his sources has *kinder*, it is more than probable that Coverdale's departure from Tindale is due to Luther.

## 3:27

Vulgate: Quicumque enim . . . estis

Erasmus' Latin: Nam quicumque . . . estis

Greek: hosoi gar

Tindale 1525: For all ye that are . . .

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale changed this phrase to "For as many of you as are. . ." In view of the fact that Luther has "Denn wie viel ewr . . . sind" it is reasonable to assume that this is the source of Coverdale's rendering.

In the third chapter of Galatians there are, as already stated a large number of departures from Tindale's text, 29 in number, for which there does not seem to be any outside source, Lutheran or other. They appear to be due to Coverdale himself. With the exception of two, they are all of a more or less minor stylistic nature and do not require any comment. The two passages of more than ordinary interest occur in verses five and eight.

## 3:5

Coverdale: and doth soche greate actes

As discussed earlier in connection with Coverdale's indebtedness to Luther for this phrase in general, the adjective *greate* is as it were the

personal property of Coverdale himself. He added it independently because he felt it would seem that it brought out the implications of the text still more forcefully than Luther's rendering had done. It seems to me that Luther, had he ever known of Coverdale's version, would have approved of it. Coverdale was merely carrying out Luther's own principles of translation. The master would have recognized one of his true sons.

## 3:8

Coverdale: and sayde

Coverdale added this phrase on his own. He probably thought it would make the long sentence in which it occurs easier to understand. It is hard to disagree with him, though the addition is not really necessary.

Aside from these two passages, it can safely be stated that whenever there is any significant departure from Tindale's text, this is invariably due either to Luther alone or to both Luther and the Vulgate agreeing with each other against Tindale. This is definitely the pattern of the third as well as of the first two chapters.

## GALATIANS 4

Of the 31 verses of the fourth chapter 20 are identical in the Tindale editions of 1525 and 1534. Eleven differ to some degree or other in these two principal editions of the English N. T.: 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 30. These differences are all relatively minor and really need no discussion in this connection. Suffice it to say that Coverdale never followed Tindale's first edition where that differs from the second, so far as the fourth chapter is concerned.

As regards Coverdale's relation to Tindale's second edition then, it is a little closer than it was in the third chapter. In the fourth chapter, as many as seven verses contain the unaltered text of Tindale's second version of 1534: 10, 12, 14, 19, 20, 22, 27. In 24 out of the 31 making up the fourth chapter Coverdale chose to depart to a greater or lesser extent from Tindale.

If, instead of counting verse, we count phrases or words differing in Coverdale and Tindale, we come up with as many as 46 passages. Of these 46, 13 appear to have no other source than Coverdale himself. That leaves the fairly large number of 33 for which we can establish one or more outside sources. Every single one of these 33 passages can be explained on the basis of Luther's German text. All we need to account for these 33 departures from Tindale is the German Bible. We should, however, again point out that for ten of the 33 passages the

Vulgate can also be regarded as a possible source in addition to Luther's text: 1, 2, 4, 8, 14, 21, 29 (three phrases), 30.

We shall again limit our discussion to those passages for which Luther alone seems to have been the source. The following is the list of the 24 individual passages in question: 1 (three phrases), 3, 4, 5, 6 (two phrases), 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24 (two phrases), 25, 26, 29, 30 (two phrases), 31 (two phrases). We do not have the space to analyze all of them. It is necessary to present a small selection.

4:1a

Vulgate: nihil differt a servo

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: ouden diapherei doulou

Tindale 1525: differeth not from a servaunt

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale has a somewhat longer phrase, obviously not rendered very literally.

Coverdale: there is no difference betwene him and a servaunt

This freedom, however, is not original with Coverdale. The decisive step was taken by Martin Luther, whose free rendering Coverdale apparently preferred to Tindale's more literal translation: "so ist vnter yhm vnd eynem knecht keyn vnterscheyd."

4:1b

Vulgate: cum sit dominus omnium

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: kurios pantôn ôn

Tindale 1525: though he be Lorde of all

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale, interestingly enough, adds a noun at the end of the phrase.

Coverdale: though he be lorde of all ye goodes

There is no other source for this unusual addition than Luther's German Bible, which has this reading: "ob er wol eyn herr ist aller guter." It can hardly be doubted that this is the origin of Coverdale's expansion of the text.

4:3

Vulgate: sub elementis mundi

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: hupo tu stoicheia tou kosmou

Tindale 1525: vnder the ordinations of the worlde

Tindale 1534: vnder the ordinaunces of the worlde

Coverdale's rendering of this phrase is radically different, so different in fact that one scarcely recognizes it as the same passage.

Coverdale: vnder the outwarde tradicions

The noun has been changed and, perhaps more important than that, the nominal genitive of *the worlde*, which is a literal translation of *tou kosmou*, emerges as an adjective modifying the noun *stoicheia*, *elementis*: *outwarde*. Again, there can be little doubt that this major alteration is due to Luther's Bible, which reads as follows: "vnter den euserlichen satzungen." Whether *tradicions* was directly suggested by *satzungen* is difficult to say. However, it can be stated with assurance that *outwarde*—both the word itself and the construction within which it occurs—were definitely inspired by Luther.

#### 4:4

Vulgate: At ubi venit plenitudo temporis

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: hote de êlthen to plêroma tou chronou

Tindale 1525: But when the tyme was full come

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale has a different phrase: But whan the tyme was fulfilled

This would seem to stem directly from Luther's famous and familiar words, "Da aber die zeyt erfüllet wart."

#### 4:5

Vulgate: ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus

Erasmus' Latin: ut adoptione ius filiorum acciperemus

Greek: hina tên huiiothesian apolabômen

Tindale 1525: that we thorow eleccion shulde receave the inheritaunce that belongeth vnto the naturall sonnes

Tindale 1534: has *myght* for *shulde*

Coverdale departs radically from Tindale's astonishing rendering which is really a lengthy interpretation of the passage. However one may look at it, Tindale's version is an extension and elaboration of the original. Coverdale did not follow him at all.

Coverdale: that we mighte receave ye childshippe

There is no problem in recognizing the source of this translation. Martin Luther's version has this reading: "das wyr die kindschafft empfiengen." We need look no further.

#### 4:6

Vulgate: . . . clamantem: Abba, Pater

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: krazon: Abba, ho patêr

Tindale 1525: . . . which cryeth Abba father

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale makes an interesting insertion between *Abba* and *father*.

Coverdale: . . . which cryeth: Abba, deare father

This is of course a favorite phrase of Luther's. Throughout the New Testament he employs it with a good deal of regularity. Wherever the King James Bible has *brethren* Luther is apt to have *lieben bruder*. Here he has, "Abba, lieber vater." It is quite certain that this is the source of Coverdale's *deare father*.

#### 4:17

Vulgate: sed excludere vos volunt

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: alla ekkleisai humas thelousin

Tindale 1525: they intende to exclude you

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale's version is altogether different.

Coverdale: they wolde make you to fall back

This seems like a new translation, difficult to account for on the basis of all non-German versions, till we look at Luther's text: "sie wollen euch . . . abfellig machen." It can hardly be doubted that this is the origin of Coverdale's unusual rendering.

#### 4:18

Vulgate: Bonum autem aemulamini in bono semper

Erasmus' Latin: Bonum autem est, aemulari in re bona semper

Greek: kalon de zêtousthai en kalô pantote

Tindale 1525: It is good alwayes to be fervent, so it be in a good thinge

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale puts the adverb alwayes in the second half of the phrase, whereas it occurs in the first part in Tindale.

Coverdale: It is good to be fervent, so yt it be allwaye in a good thinge

Coverdale evidently prefers Luther to Tindale, Luther reading as follows: "Eyffern ist gut, wens ymerdar geschicht vmb das gutte." It is not impossible that the Latin versions helped him in this decision.

#### 4:23

Vulgate: Sed qui de ancilla . . .

Erasmus' Latin: Verum is qui ex ancilla . . .

Greek: all' ho men ek tês paidiskês

Tindale 1525: Yee and he which was of the bonde woman

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525



Coverdale changes *woman* to *mayde*, probably following Luther who has *magd*. The same change occurs in verses 30 and 31.

## 4:24

Vulgate: quae sunt per allegoriam dicta

Erasmus' Latin: quae per allegoriam dicuntur

Greek: hatina estin allêgoroumena

Tindale 1525: Which thinges betoken mystery

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

In Coverdale we find an astonishingly different rendering.

Coverdale: These words betoken somewhat

There is little room for doubt that this passage is fully based on Luther's very free translation reading: "Die wort bedeuten etwas." When Luther renders a phrase as freely as he does here, and when Coverdale is in such fundamental agreement with him, it is practically a foregone conclusion that Luther is his source.

## 4:25

Vulgate: Sina nunc mons est in Arabia, qui coniunctus est ei, quae nunc est Jerusalem

Erasmus' Latin: Sina mons est in Arabia, confinis est autem ei, quae nunc vocatur Hierusalem

Greek: to gar Hagar sina oros estin en tē Arabia sustoichei, de tē nun Hierousalēm

Tindale 1525: For mounte Sina is called Agar in Arabia, and bordreth upon the citie which is now Jerusalem

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale diverges considerably from Tindale.

Coverdale: For Agar is called in Arabia ye mount Sina, and reacheth vnto Jerusalem which now is

This rearranged passage appears to be based on Luther's version which reads as follows: "Denn Agar heyst ynn Arabia der berg Sina, vnd langet biss gen Jerusalem, das zu diser zeyt ist."

## 4:29

Vulgate: Sed quomodo tunc

Erasmus' Latin: sed quemadmodum tunc

Greek: all' hōsper tote

Tindale 1525: But as then

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale: But like as at that tyme

While of course not necessarily so, Coverdale's phrase seems to stem from Luther's words, "Aber gleych wie zu der zeyt."

As indicated before, there are 13 passages in the fourth chapter of Galatians which, while different from Tindale's rendering, are not based on Luther or the Vulgate or any other known source. They appear to be changes which Coverdale made on his own. They occur in vss. 2, 7, 9 (two passages), 11, 14, 15, 17, 23, 24, 26 (two passages), 28. Almost all of them are minor stylistic alterations. Only two are important enough to merit special attention.

## 4:26

Tindale 1525: But Jerusalem, which is above, is fre

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale changed *which* to *that* and turned Tindale's single word *fre* into a longer phrase, "the fre woman."

Coverdale: But Jerusalem, that is above, is the fre woman

## 4:28

Tindale 1525: Brethren we are after the maner of Isaac, chyldren of promes

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale departed radically from Tindale, who together with Luther based his rendering on the Greek original. Coverdale struck out on his own as never before in this Epistle.

Coverdale: As for vs (brethren) we are the children of Isaac accordinge to the promes

Since this is hardly a responsible translation of the original or of the Vulgate for that matter, one should perhaps be grateful that Coverdale saw fit for the most part to adhere to either Tindale or Luther, rather more reliable translators from the original text itself.

## GALATIANS 5

Of the 26 verses of the fifth chapter, 21 remained unchanged from the first to the second edition of Tindale's N. T. Only five reveal some difference: 5, 10, 12, 20, 21. Three of these are relatively minor and call for no discussion here. Two are sufficiently interesting to merit brief presentation.

## 5:5

Tindale 1525: We . . . hope to be justified by the sprete which cometh of fayth

Tindale 1534: We . . . hope in the sprete to be iustified thorow fayth

Both versions are comparatively free renderings, with the first edition the freer of the two. The second half of the second version shows some debt to Luther it would seem.

## 5:20

Tindale 1525: . . . lawynges . . . parte takynges

Tindale 1534: . . . variaunce . . . sectes

This is a confusing verse consisting of a long enumeration of vices to be guarded against. Suffice it to say that Tindale's first and second editions diverge considerably in the two phrases selected.

So far as Coverdale's relation to Tindale is concerned, there are only three verses in the 26 of the fifth chapter where Coverdale is satisfied with reproducing Tindale's text (the second edition only; there is no evidence that he used the first). That is to say, in as many as 23 verses Coverdale departs from Tindale to some degree. If we count phrases or words, we find a total of 36 departures from Tindale. Of these 36, 11 appear to have no outside source but to be due to Coverdale himself. At least no other influence can be established. Excluding these eleven, we still have at least 25 passages for which one or more outside sources can be given.

It is again important to bear in mind that Luther's German Bible suffices to explain each and every one of these 25 passages. For nine passages both the Vulgate and Luther qualify as possible sources: 6, 8, 10, 11 (two passages), 13, 24 (two passages), 25. For 16 passages only Luther's text will do because Luther, in these, departs from the Vulgate. Coverdale preferred Luther to the Vulgate in all instances where they differed: 4, 5, 8 (two passages), 9, 12 (two passages), 13 (two passages), 14 (two passages), 15, 16, 21, 23, 24.

We shall omit from the discussion the passages with a possible double origin, and we shall restrict ourselves to those for which Luther appears to be the sole source. For lack of space, it will be necessary to select just a few from the 16 passages available for proof of Coverdale's dependence on Luther.

## 5:4

Vulgate: qui in lege iustificamini

Erasmus' Latin: quicumque per legem iustificamini

Greek: hoitines en nomô dikaïousthe

Tindale 1525: as many as are iustified by the lawe

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale's text differs markedly from Tindale's.

Coverdale: as many off you as wilby made righteous by the lawe

It would seem that this change is due to Luther's version reading as follows: ". . . yhr durchs gesetz rechtfertig werden wolt."

## 5:5

Vulgate: Nos enim spiritu ex fide, spem iustitiae expectamus

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: hemeis gar pneumatî ek pisteôs elpida dikaiosunês apekdechometha

Tindale 1525: We loke for and hope to be iustified by the sprete which commeth of fayth

Tindale 1534: We loke for and hope in the sprite to be iustified thorow fayth

Coverdale's rendering of this very difficult verse is totally different from Tindale's two versions. It bears no resemblance to either.

Coverdale: But we wayte in the sprete off hope, to be made righteous by faith

This free version is, however, in complete agreement with Luther's rendering: "Wyr aber wartten ym geyst der hoffnung, das wyr durch den glawben rechtfertig seyen." This verse is interesting also from another point of view. It allows to determine for the first time in the Epistle to the Galatians whether Coverdale used an early or a late edition of Luther's New Testament. The Lutheran version just quoted remained intact only through 1527. It was thoroughly revised in 1530 in the following manner: "Wir aber warten im Geist, durch den glauben, der Gerechtigkeit der man hoffen mus." From this it is quite clear that Coverdale used an edition prior to the great revision of 1530. Unfortunately we cannot run it down more specifically than that in the nature of the case.

## 5:9

Vulgate: Modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit

Erasmus' Latin: Paulum fermentum totam massam fermentat

Greek: mikra zumê holon to phurama zumoi

Tindale 1525: A lytell leven doth leven the whole lompe of dowe

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale changed only one word in this verse, but a very important word indeed.

Coverdale: A lytell leven sowreth the whole lompe of dowe

It would seem that this change was made in conformity with Martin Luther who has *versawret*.

## 5:12

Vulgate: Utinam abscindantur. . .

Erasmus' Latin: Utinam & abscindantur. . .

Greek: ophelon kai apokopsontai

Tindale 1525: I wolde to God they were sondred

Tindale 1534: I wolde to God they were seperated

Coverdale changes the first phrase somewhat and the final verb altogether.

Coverdale: Wold God they were roted out

Since the entire passage including the crucial verb is in complete agreement with Luther's rendering, "Wolt Got, das sie auch aussgerotet wurden," it would seem that the German Bible is the clear source of Coverdale's version.

#### 5:24

Vulgate: . . . cum vitiis, et concupiscentiis

Erasmus' Latin: . . . cum affectibus & concupiscentiis

Greek: sun tois pathêmasin kai tais epithumiais

Tindale 1525: . . . with the appetites and lustes

Tindale 1534: identical with 1534

Coverdale changes Tindale's phrase to read "with the lustes and desyres." This corresponds exactly to Luther's version, "sampt den lusten vnd begirden," which may quite safely be taken to be the source of Coverdale's altered rendering.

As indicated above, there are eleven passages in the fifth chapter which are different from Tindale and from Luther and the Vulgate as well. These appear definitely to be changes which Coverdale made on his own authority. They are found in the following verses: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 12, 14, 17, 19, 26. Practically all of them involve only minor stylistic changes. None is important enough to be singled out here for special presentation.

#### GALATIANS 6

Of the 18 verses of the sixth chapter, as many as 16 remained unaltered in the second edition of Tindale's New Testament. Only two show some difference: 2 and 9. Only the change in vs. 9 is important enough to record here.

#### 6:9

Tindale 1525: Let vs do good, and let vs not faynte

Tindale 1534: Let vs not be wery of well doynge

Tindale's first version appears to be based on the Greek original, translated literally by the Vulgate:

Greek: to de kalon poiountes mê enkakômen

Vulgate: Bonum autem facientes, non deficiamus

Tindale's second version would seem to have been revised by the 1519 edition of Erasmus' Latin translation:

Erasmus' Latin: *Bonum autem faciendo ne defatigemur*

So far as Coverdale's relation to Tindale is concerned, only three out of the 18 verses of the sixth chapter reproduce the Tindale text (i.e., the second edition) unchanged. In other words, in as many as 15 verses Coverdale saw fit to depart from Tindale. Counting phrases or words rather than whole verses we find a total of 29 departures from Tindale. Of these 29, seven appear to be changes initiated by Coverdale himself. At least no outside influence can be discovered. If we exclude these seven passages, there are still 22 left for which we can locate external sources.

It should again be pointed out that Luther's German Bible is sufficient to account for all of these twenty-two changes. For ten of them, both the Vulgate and Luther qualify as possible sources: 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14 (three passages), 15, 16. For twelve of them only Luther's text will do inasmuch as the Vulgate has readings different from Luther. It is a simple fact that wherever Luther and the Vulgate differ from each other Coverdale preferred to follow Luther: 1 (two passages), 2, 6 (two passages), 8 (three passages), 9, 11, 12, 14.

In order to conserve space we shall again ignore the passages having, theoretically at least, a possible double origin. We shall limit the discussion to those which appear to go back to Luther as their only source. Again for reasons of space, we shall select only a few of these primarily relevant passages.

#### 6:1a

Vulgate: *et si praeoccupatus homo fuerit in aliquo delicto*  
 Erasmus' Latin: *etiam si occupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto*  
 Greek: *ean kai prolêmphthê anthrôpos, en tini paraptômati*  
 Tindale 1525: *yf eny man be fallen by chaunce into eny faute*  
 Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale departs from Tindale to a considerable extent.  
 Coverdale: *yf eny man be overtaken of a faute*

The origin of this astonishing version is probably to be found in Luther's translation reading as follows: "so ein mensch etwa von eyne feyl vbereylet wurd."

#### 6:1b

Vulgate: *in spiritu lenitatis*  
 Erasmus' Latin: *in spiritu mansuetudinis*  
 Greek: *en pneumati praütêtos*  
 Tindale 1525: *in the sprete of meknes*  
 Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale made a very important stylistic change.

Coverdale: with a meke spirit

This phrase, in which an adjectival form is substituted for a nominal genitive, embodies a characteristic Lutheran method of translation. Luther did exactly this in his rendering of the passage, "mit sanfftmutigem geyst." There cannot be any doubt that this is the source of Coverdale's English phrase.

6:9

Vulgate: metemus non deficientes

Erasmus' Latin: metemus non defatigati

Greek: therisomen mê eklusmenoi

Tindale 1525: we shall repe without weriness

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale replaced Tindale's last word *weriness* by *ceassinge*. Inasmuch as Luther, and Luther alone, has *on auffhoren*, which is incidentally a free rather than a close rendering, it is reasonable to assume that Coverdale's translation is directly indebted to Martin Luther.

6:11

Vulgate: Videte qualibus litteris scripsi vobis

Erasmus' Latin: Videtis quanta vobis epistola scripserim

Greek: Idete pêlikois humin grammasin egrapsa

Tindale 1525. Beholde how large a letter I have written vnto you

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale's version is altogether different from Tindale's.

Coverdale: Beholde, with how many words I have written vnto you

This fairly free rendering was in all probability, if not with certainty, inspired by Luther's translation reading as follows: "Sehet, mit wie vielen wortten hab ich euch geschrieben."

6:12

Vulgate: ut crucis Christi persecutionem non patiantur

Erasmus' Latin: ne ob crucem Christi persecutionem patiantur

Greek: hina mê tô staurô tou Christou diôkontai

Tindale 1525: because they wolde not suffre persecucion with the crosse of Christ

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale's version differs markedly from Tindale's.

Coverdale: lest they shulde be persecuted with the crosse of Christ

While the change from Tindale's *because* to *lest* could be due to the Vulgate or Erasmus as well as to Luther, the replacing of Tindale's phrase *suffre persecucion* by the single verb *persecuted* would seem to



be due exclusively to Luther whose translation reads, "das sie nicht mit dem creutz Christi verfolget werden." Luther's rendering rests on the Greek original having one word rather than two as found in the Vulgate and in Erasmus. It is theoretically possible that Coverdale's translation could stem from the Greek text itself. But since Coverdale knew no Greek, it is Luther whom he followed.

## 6:14

Vulgate: nisi in cruce domini nostri

Erasmus' Latin: identical with Vulgate

Greek: ei mê en tô staurô tou kuriou hêmôn

Tindale 1525: but in the crosse of oure Lorde

Tindale 1534: identical with 1525

Coverdale underscores and intensifies the idea of rejoicing in the cross of Christ and only in the cross of Christ by inserting an extra word.

Coverdale: save onely in the crosse of our Lorde

This extraordinary emphasis is already found in Luther who rendered the phrase as follows: "denn nur von dem creutz vnsers herrn." It would seem that this is the source of Coverdale's unusual rendering.

As stated earlier, there are seven passages in the last chapter of Galatians which differ from Tindale but which do not stem from either Luther or the Vulgate. They appear to be changes made by Coverdale himself, independently of any of his known sources. They occur in the following verses: 1 (two passages), 3, 7, 10, 12, 13. Not one of them goes beyond minor stylistic adjustments. It is not necessary to dwell on them in detail. All they prove is that Coverdale was a stylist in his own right, with his own mind and literary taste. As should be abundantly clear by this time, he was no mere copyist.

The results of this investigation may be summarized briefly as follows:

1. There are 29 passages in Tindale's translation of Galatians which are clearly traceable to Luther's German Bible. All of these 29 Lutheran formulations were retained by Coverdale in 1535, without a single exception. While thus not constituting a direct influence of Luther upon Coverdale, they are nevertheless indirectly due to the German master. These 29 passages were not analyzed in this essay because they belong properly in a study of Tindale's debt to Luther. Still, the fact as such should at least be pointed in passing in an investigation dealing with Luther's influence on Coverdale. The 29

cases of Lutheran impact upon Coverdale via Tindale should be added to the number of direct borrowings above and beyond Tindale.

2. In addition to the 29 Lutheran passages taken over from Tindale, there are 113 new passages in which Coverdale followed Luther independently of Tindale, on his own initiative.

3. Besides these 113, there are 78 passages which may have been inspired either by Luther or the Vulgate, in the sense that both Luther and the Vulgate furnish identical readings. While it is theoretically impossible to decide whether Coverdale followed Luther or the Vulgate, we may, practically speaking, incline to the view that Luther should perhaps be considered the primary source here too. There are 100 passages in which Coverdale agrees with Luther against the Vulgate. There is not a single passage in which Coverdale sides with the Vulgate against Luther.

4. As regards the edition of Luther's N. T. which Coverdale may have used, it is very difficult to come to a definite decision. In the nature of the case, it must have been an edition that appeared no later than 1535, probably no later than 1534, for Coverdale's own Bible came out in 1535.

So far as the evidence contained in Galatians is concerned, Coverdale appears to have used an early edition, one before Luther's major revision of the text incorporated in the edition of 1530. It is impossible to state more specifically which of the several pre-1530 editions Coverdale may have had in his hands when he prepared his own version. It does look, however, that it was definitely an edition prior to 1530.

5. It should be clearly understood that any of the conclusions reached in the course of this investigation apply only to the Epistle to the Galatians. It seems clear to me that the situation changes from biblical book to biblical book. Until they have all been investigated separately, we are simply not in a position to make sweeping statements about Coverdale's general debt to the Lutheran Bible. Far from drawing any general conclusions we can, at the present stage of research, draw only specific conclusions strictly applicable to the book examined, in this case Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

6. There remains a measure of doubt whether Coverdale followed Luther directly or perhaps only indirectly by way of the Zürich Bible. Since it seems that not all students of the English Bible are aware that the Zürich Bible (1524-1529) is, at least in the New Testament, practically a reprint of Luther's German Bible, it is perhaps important

to lay some stress on this point so widely overlooked. The N. T. portion of the Swiss Bible is merely a reproduction of the Luther text, with a very few minor alterations. These alterations are not sufficient either quantitatively or qualitatively to state with assurance whether it was a Luther text or a Swiss text which actually lay before Coverdale as he was at work. One or two slight indications in favor of one are canceled out by similar indications in favor of the other. Whichever German text Coverdale had in front of him does not ultimately matter so very much. The Swiss was practically as Lutheran as Luther himself.

## THE EARLY CHURCH AND THE ECUMENICAL PROBLEM\*

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(Continued)

This leads us to the last question: the separation of both missions, the Jewish-Christian and the Pauline, under the mutual recognition of their independence and the recovery of a single bond, namely the work of charity through the collection. Up to this point, all the points dealt with are meaningful for our ecumenical problem to-day. But this last one appears to me to contain a concrete indication how Catholics and Protestants in spite of all remaining and insurmountable barriers in all truthfulness can come nearer together.

Paul speaks of this bond in his Epistle to the Galatians, (2:1 f.). We do not have to deal here with the whole exegetical problem, with the comparison of the statement which Paul gives here and that of the Acts of the Apostles (chap. 15). In the one statement, much is not quite clear in the information concerning the meeting of the Apostles in Jerusalem. In any case, it was an ecumenical conference. Two irreconcilable points of view which were in opposition in the early Church, had to be confronted here with each other. The question was whether the newly converted Gentiles had to be not only baptised but also circumcised, as the men about James in Jerusalem, not all, but

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\*English translation by F. Temple Kingston, The Anglican Theological College of British Columbia.

still the majority, desired, or whether the missionary activity of Paul should be recognized according to which the Gentiles would be admitted to full membership through baptism into Christ alone, without circumcision. According to the Epistle to the Galatians, the chief theological question whether a person who had not been circumcised could be on a completely equal status as a Christian with one who had been circumcised, had *not* been decided. Certainly, the missionary work of Paul was recognized in its independence, but also at the same time *separated* from that of Jerusalem. Frequently, both sides in their missionary work were obliged to follow their own outlook and to pursue their own practice. Peter was said to stand at the head of the Jewish-Christian mission as Paul was at the head of the Gentile-Christian mission. It was decided that Peter would go to the Jews and Paul to the Gentiles. The letter of Paul, as also the Acts of the Apostles, shows us clearly that in fact both missions were divided. Indeed the question of unity had not been considered because separated communities, in which there were only Jewish-Christians or only Gentile-Christians, were not so obvious and as a rule, they must have been mixed. Only because of this, was it possible that soon afterwards in Antioch, the conflict arose between Peter and Paul, where Peter out of concern for the people of James who had come from Jerusalem, did not dare to sit at table with Gentile Christians who were baptised but not circumcised. This conflict interests us here only in so far as it sheds light on the resolution of that first Christian council. It demonstrates that in fact the *dogmatic* question whether baptism alone without circumcision should be the basis of the entire fellowship with circumcised Christians, had *not* been decided. They were content to separate both *missions*. Because an open agreement in principle in this still important issue did not appear possible, even though it was recognised that God was at work on both sides, this friendly separation was the best solution. But now we come to the point which matters to me here; as a single bond, so a *unified teaching*, a dogma concerning circumcision, was not presented; for there was at this time no possibility of agreement concerning this. The followers of James could not openly recognize that Christ is the end of the law, that from then on, circumcision has been made void by baptism, and still less could Paul give up his point of view of freedom from the law, to which Christ has ransomed us through his death. So: two separate missionary organizations (I do not go as far as to say with A. Schweitzer: two churches) with different theologies and different missionary activities, that was the

solution. And still they constituted even from now on, one Church. That was due directly to the Apostle Paul, who as no other knew of the godly admonition for the unity of the Church. But the bond, the single bond that remained between the separated missions was *the collection for the poor in Jerusalem*. What is the real significance of this collection?

It is much more than a humanitarian collection. It is an ecumenical affair and assumes for Paul definite theological character. Two whole chapters, chapters 8 and 9 in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, are devoted to it. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he speaks of it in the beginning of chapter 16, and in the Epistle to the Romans (15:24 f.). We see from these places that this collection has definite meaning for him, and we grasp the importance which he attaches to it, only if we remember everything that he says of the unity of the Church. That it concerned not an ordinary collection but a deed in which the unity of the already separated Christendom should still be expressed, is clearly mentioned in Rom. 15:31. Here, Paul exhorts the Romans to pray that his collection for the poor among the Christians of Jerusalem will be accepted by the leaders of the Church there. Furthermore he considers that in principle it could *not* be accepted. However his action also suggests that the acceptance of the collection arranged by Paul means a recognition of the wider membership of Paul and also of his missionary activity within the *same* Church. To refuse the collection would be to say: You and the community founded by you do not belong to our Church in Jerusalem. Were it a matter of any community at all, non-recognition by it for the unity of the Church could in all events still be borne. But this concerns the mother community of Jerusalem. From it has the Spirit gone out at Pentecost. Paul remembers that passage in Romans 15:27: "If the Gentiles have been made partakers of the gift of the Spirit which is operative among the Jewish Christians, they are obliged in their turn to minister to them with material gifts."

We learn from this that the collection for the poor of the mother community of Jerusalem displays an effort for unity. It has been correctly paralleled with the Jewish temple contributions. In order to keep alive and to strengthen the conviction of building *one* nation among living Jews who had been dispersed in the Diaspora throughout the whole world, all men of twenty years and up, wherever they lived, were obligated to pay a due to the temple which took the form of a yearly tax for the support of public worship. Whether the council

of the Apostles of Gal. 2 in mentioning the collection had actually thought about the temple contributions or not (the expression *leitourgia* in II Cor. 9:1 could be a suggestion of it), in any case as the former, they are obliged to minister to unity.

On the other hand, it is still not a real tax. It replaces the tax by something else—a freewill offering. The form of expression in Gal. 2:10 points to that: We should “remember” the poor. Especially in II Cor. 8 and 9 Paul emphasises the element of *freewill* in the offering: “According to their ability and beyond their ability the Macedonians have *freely* given” (II Cor. 8:3). “Every gift, as it comes from the heart, not out of despondency or out of force, for God loves a *cheerful* giver.”

Who should benefit from the offering? Now it is said for the “poor,” now for the “saints;” we know that these joint designations are on the whole for the Christians of Jerusalem, but in Rom. 15:26 we read that the collection is definitely for the “poor among the saints in Jerusalem.” The best assumption is that the collection is definitely for the *poor* of the original community.<sup>1</sup> Certainly these poor people in Jerusalem appear to have been especially rich in receiving contributions. This began with the good fellowship practiced in the earliest days or also in union with their special affliction from the side of the Jews. Be that as it may, it is clear from the place I have mentioned in Paul’s Second Epistle to the Corinthians as in the Epistle to the Romans that the community of Jerusalem received truly needed support from elsewhere.

In spite of this, one could certainly ask why the collection was made everywhere just for Jerusalem. For after all there were certainly poor in other communities! In II Cor. 8:1, the Apostle says of the Macedonians that “their great poverty is flooded over in the riches of their generosity.” To answer our question, one must remember the purpose of the collection: it was to display the bond of unity between Gentile Christians and Jewish Christians. The hesitations and objections had been raised by *Jewish Christians*. For them it was difficult to recognize Gentile Christians, not the opposite. And Paul let them alone without by any means accepting their point of view. From this we understand clearly that the communities founded by Paul had to be the ones to make the sacrifice. Then we have seen that Jerusalem is the mother community from which the Holy Spirit went forth at Pentecost. Paul himself remembers that; for the question: why collect for

<sup>1</sup>If indeed reference to the whole community is not completely excluded—see K. Holl, *Ges. Aufs.* II, p. 59 ff.



Jerusalem? could also have been put to him. Having arrived at the point that the special need of the Jerusalem community was known among Christians of the whole world, then it is understandable why the collection for unity, this "gracious work," this "gift of blessing," this "bond of fellowship" (*koinonia*), as Paul names it, was arranged for the poor of Jerusalem. Moreover, the Apostle appears to feel in II Cor. 8:14 that the situation could arise again in which, just the opposite, the people of Jerusalem would have to give material help<sup>2</sup> to the Christians of Corinth; so that an agreement might be established as previously was the case at the distribution of manna.

There lies a deeper meaning in this interpretation of the collection. A free-will offering for the poor as a manifestation of the unity of the Church takes the place of the temple tax. Through this deed of love, says Paul in II Cor. 9:12, the Jerusalem Christians will be helped in their distress not only in a material way, but much more: they will be led to thank God for the Gentile Christian benefactors, to be thankful for the fact that these communities, which they opposed so critically, have attained to the obedience of the faith, as it appears in their sacrifice of love. But more still: the desire awakens in them to see these communities: "In prayer for you they yearn for you", writes the Apostle (II. Cor. 9:14). On the other hand, we hear II Cor. 9:12, that the Gentile Christians, who have arranged this work of love for the Jerusalemites, demonstrate at the same time thereby their desire for fellowship with them and with all Christians.<sup>3</sup> There comes such a real unity through the fact that the one contributes for the other, that these thank God for the help of the others and for *their membership in the Church*. We see that Paul uses the noblest expressions of which he is especially capable that he has used to describe the faith, in order to define apparently so material a thing as a collection of money: grace (*charis*) he calls it again and again, "fellowship" (*Koinonia*), service (*diakonia*), "blessing" (*eulogia*). It is much more than a collection for help in winter-time or any other kind of work: a sacrifice for the unity of the Body of Christ. Truly because they are separated not only geographically but also through differently orientated theologies and through different missionary organizations to form two separate Churches, the collection is a sacrifice, and truly

<sup>2</sup>According to the context this is the meaning (Lietzmann), and not as in Rom. 15: a comparison between spiritual and material goods.

<sup>3</sup>*Eis autous kai pantas.*



thereby the blessing is sealed which keeps together the separated members of the early Church in spite of an already existing gulf.

And now in conclusion, I venture to make a practical suggestion which perhaps has entered your mind already.

The question of the Roman Primacy and of the infallible teaching office that accompanies it is more far-reaching than that of the circumcision had been, even though it also at that time offered no other way than that of separation. The rent which the various interpretations of the Church cause to-day, is deeper. As I have indicated at the beginning, it is impossible to conceive how there can come a union dogmatically and canonically. We have to proceed from this *fact*. For this reason we seek in the week of prayer, only to build on the basis of *prayers for unity* a fellowship in this sense, and certainly this is a ray of hope even though the limits of which we have spoken are firmly set: namely, that as soon as we think of the *how* of unity obtained, we pray for precisely different things. But now I ask: would it not be possible to do something further in the future? Certainly we wish to pray more for unity. But could we not *once* in the year, and indeed during this week of prayer, arrange an ecumenical collection, a reciprocal freewill offering for unity: a collection by Protestants for the poor among Catholics, and a collection by Catholics for the poor among Protestants? Is this idea too bold? idealistic? Perhaps. But should it not just once be possible that we think of the poor among the separated brethren? Are we not capable just once of offering this reciprocal sacrifice for unity?

At once, I should like to note that the acceptance or rejection of this suggestion should not hinge on an agreement or disagreement with my point of view with regard to the few verses of Gal. 2 whose exegesis I have given above. One fact remains firm in any case: that there was in the early Church a collection, which was of service to the unity of the separated missions. From the Catholic side one could raise a certain objection to the effect that in the early Church the collection was not *reciprocal*, but was arranged only for Jerusalem, so that analogously to-day, it could be permitted only for the benefit of Rome. On the other hand, apart from the fact that has been mentioned that Paul at least in principle appears to keep in view the possibility of a reciprocal collection, it is above all to be emphasised that the question whether only Rome has in reality taken the place of Jerusalem is indeed the *question which separates us to-day*. It is no longer the question of circumcision, but it is indeed this question of the Primacy which makes

a union impossible to-day. For, for the non-Roman Christian Churches, the significance of Jerusalem lies truly in its *unique and abiding worth as Mother Church*, from which the Holy Spirit went forth, a worth which according to this interpretation can flow upon no single Church in an exclusive way. Yet if when all is said and done, this indeed separates us and if indeed at this point a *dogmatic* solution appears impossible, then a collection in the *Spirit* of the early Christian collection can be only a reciprocal collection, in which to-day, if not unity, at least the *belonging together* of such a radically separated Christendom may come to expression. As in those days (we have seen why), it must be a collection by Gentile Christians truly for Jerusalem. In the changed situation to-day, to be practical, an ecumenical collection can only be a reciprocal one.

Under the present circumstances would it not be the only true and possible way of coming to a mutual understanding that we are not really too quickly and easily satisfied with the rift in the Church, if we make a sacrifice for unity? Indeed isn't this the only way it is possible? I know that there are strong opposing forces on *both* sides to overcome and I already hear the objection of certain Protestant brothers in the faith: The Catholics will never have anything to do with that, or they will withdraw! I dare to hope that they are mistaken. The attempt should be dared to bring the proposal to reality. The unity of the Church is also a matter of belief which must be *dared*. The way of carrying out such a collection could be discussed later and certainly ways can be found to overcome whatever technical difficulties may arise. The main thing would be that the suggestion in principle should be brought to consent on both sides and more than that: to a cheerful willingness, to make *the* sacrifice for unity such that great and small difficulties in this respect are eliminated.

For they are certainly not insurmountable on *this* level. Neither Catholics nor non-Catholics in a reciprocal collection taking place once in the year would yield in the least their basic dogmatic and ecclesiastical positions. It is simply a matter of a work of love. That would remind us mutually at least *once* in the year that we, in spite of everything which separates us still so deeply, call on the same Lord and *in this common Lord*, we are fit also for a common work. And if we then, as Paul says of the collection in II Cor. 9:12, are made through this mutual sacrifice to thank God for the fact that the separated brethren have thought of us in this way, so will *this* prayer, as I think, mean more than mere intercessions for the unity that is

sought by real effort: it would be then a thank-offering also for the fact that the separated brethren belong to the same Lord in spite of the peculiarities rejected by us.

I dare to make this suggestion in the firm conviction that this collection would become a blessing, a *eulogia*, and an actual fellowship, a *koinonia*, as was the collection in the early Church. I should like to ask you all, to at least consider this suggestion in these days and each in his place to work for its realization. Further, it may be stressed again that this suggestion does not stand and fall with Gal. 2 and the exegesis presented by me (even though this is accepted by most exegetes). Whoever refuses it may suggest other reasons for his refusal. Indeed, it is well-established, as I have said, that in the early Church there was a collection for the poor to realize the unity of the Church, and this alone is decisive.

Certainly, one should not be carefree concerning what separates us. We shall speak in the future in all openness, why we abide by our conviction for the sake of the veracity of our belief in the gospel and must indeed resist dogmatic positions which are in opposition, though there is nothing else. But what a great thing it would be if we simultaneously in a reciprocal action of love attained the certainty that in spite of everything, the Holy Spirit presses us to the one Body of Christ. Then would something of the word of the Epistle to the Ephesians (Eph. 4:15) become visible: "We should hold fast the *truth in love* and in all circumstances grow into Him who is the Head, even Christ."

### SAMUEL JOHNSON, CHURCHMAN

By HIRAM R. BENNETT

Troy, Pa.

"Tory. One who adheres to the ancient constitution of the state, and the apostolic hierarchy of the Church of England.

"Whig. The name of a faction."

—*Dictionary of the English Language*,  
Ed. Samuel Johnson, LL.D.

Thus spake the oracle. "Old Johnson was," said Thackeray, "better than whole benches of bishops." And since he was a layman, and not bound to the Church by vows beyond his baptismal and confirmation obligations, his attachment to it was purely one of conviction. He was

not only staunch, but discriminating in these attachments. He saw that bishops and other dignitaries were appointed more for political reasons than learning and piety, and that the parish clergy were not remarkable for their pastoral activity—at least not generally. Yet he defended them in his rebuke to a Presbyterian minister who had been talking about “fat bishops and drowsy deans.” “Sir,” said Dr. Johnson, “you know no more of our Church than a Hottentot.”

Churchmen of the twentieth century should be grateful to the stolid, portly, myopic lexicographer whose voice and personality dominated the literary life of London in the eighteenth century. And as we shall endeavor in these pages to show, he was a faithful son of the Church, whose religion was sincere, who was a frequent communicant and a firm believer in the ancient creeds. Once he met John Wesley, and “found his conversation good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hours. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have his talk out, as I do.”

Herein lies the secret. Wesley, being “never at leisure,” could not, —or did not— in Johnson’s opinion, think out the continuity of the Church. He was content to speak of the “fable of the Apostolic Succession.” This Johnson never did. He believed thoroughly in the continuity and catholicity of *Ecclesia Anglicana*. He was of the school of Andrewes, Hooker and Pearson, and he anticipated the Tractarians.

Johnson’s churchmanship was started the day he was born. For his father took him shortly after he was swaddled, on the very day—Sept. 18, 1709—to St. Mary’s Church in Lichfield for his baptism. One of his early childhood activities, quoted by Boswell, is told by his mother that when Samuel “was a child in petticoats, and had learned to read, Mrs. Johnson one morning put the Common Prayer Book into his hands, pointed to the collect for the day, and said, ‘Sam, you must get this by heart.’ She went up the stairs leaving him to study it: but by the time she had reached the second floor, she heard him following her. ‘What’s the matter?’ said she. ‘I can say it,’ he replied; and repeated it distinctly, though he could not have read it more than twice.”

The family of Michael Johnson, the doctor’s father, is still remembered in Lichfield. This Staffordshire cathedral city is well worth a visit. I once spent a week-end there amid the many Johnson memorials. The house where he was born, situated on Market Square,

<sup>1</sup>II. p. 190, Boswell’s *Life*. All references are to First Edition, (London, 1791).

remained in Dr. Johnson's possession until his death, when it was sold by order of his executors. After passing through various hands, and narrowly escaping destruction by fire in 1873, the house in 1900, through the munificence of Alderman John Gilbert, became the property of the citizens of Lichfield, and on May 27, 1901, it was opened as a Johnson museum.

Opposite to it is St. Mary's church, little changed from its eighteenth century appearance. In another section of the city is St. Michael's church, containing the family tomb, with the epitaph, "engraved on the large size," which Johnson ordered placed a few days before his death, and for which he sent ten pounds.

At the top of a hill is the cathedral, small to be sure, but regarded as one of the most beautiful in all England. Here Dr. Johnson was a regular worshipper all his life. It contains a memorial to him, and the grave of his mother. Among the priceless books in the library atop the sacristy, is the *Codex Ceddæ*, or manuscript of the Gospels, said to have been the property of St. Chad, founder of the See of Lichfield in the eighth century. Dr. Johnson, as may be expected, was a constant visitor to the library, and a borrower. For on his last visit to Lichfield, in the autumn of 1784, he walked up the hill to the cathedral and secured the loan of a medical treatise on the malady from which he died. This book was found lying on the table at the side of his bed. It was returned to the library, and was probably one of the last things the doctor read.

Thanks to the assiduity of James Boswell, Dr. Johnson's words and deeds are better known, probably, than those of any other eighteenth century personality. The young Scotsman builded well, when he chose as a sub-title of his *Life* the phrase "A view of literature and literary men in Great Britain, for nearly half a century, during which he flourished."

Yet in many ways Dr. Johnson was a pathetic figure. Strong Tory as he was by conviction, he accepted a pension of three hundred pounds a year from George III. No one was ever more "feverently grateful" than he, who at the age of 53 had never known a day's good health or a year's steady income. He who had compiled the Dictionary declared, "The English language does not afford me terms adequate to my feelings on this occasion [of getting the pension]. I must have recourse to the French. I am *penetré* with his majesty's goodness."

Johnson in 1757, says Boswell, "was offered a living of considerable value if he were inclined to enter into holy orders. It was a rectory in

the gift of Mr. Langton, the father of his much-valued friend (Bennet Langton). But he did not accept of it, partly I believe from a conscientious motive, being persuaded that his temper and habits rendered him unfit for that assiduous and familiar instruction of the vulgar and ignorant, which he held to be an essential duty in a clergyman; and partly because his love of a London life was so strong, that he would have thought himself an exile in any other place, particularly if residing in the country" (*Life*, I, 176).

Whether Johnson would have made a good priest is debatable. One may imagine a cathedral chapter, with Samuel Johnson as dean, or one of the canons. As the Lord Bishop of a diocese he would have aroused the Church from her slumbers. For his friend, William Gifford, says that "as a man Dr. Johnson stands displayed in open daylight. Nothing remains undiscovered. . . . Metaphysical discussion, moral theology, systems of religion, and anecdotes of literature, were his favorite topics. . . . He was a giant giving a *purchase* to lift a feather."

Johnson's devotional writings—and there are many—show him to have been a man of profound personal religious character and conviction. The beams of our little candle, as they are cast upon the great mass of his writings, show him to have had a knowledge of the catholic character of *Ecclesia Anglicana*, wider than most of his lay contemporaries, for what other eighteenth century layman composed prayers for the soul of a deceased wife? Or what other writer would leave on record prayers (*Life*, I, 135) that he composed before beginning a new work, such as this one of Johnson's when he began the second volume of his Dictionary?

"O God," so the prayer goes, "Who hast hitherto supported me, enable me to proceed in this labor, and in the whole task of my present state; that when I shall render up at the last day an account of the talent committed to me, I may receive pardon, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen."

Indeed prayer was an exercise which Johnson took seriously. The large number of prayers which he composed and which are published along with his meditations and sermons indicate that his mind had a theological side. Boswell says (*Life*, I, 130) that he "in conformity with the opinion of many of the most able, learned and pious Christians in all ages, supposed that there was a middle state after death, previous to the time at which departed souls are finally received to eternal felicity appears, I think, unquestionably from his devotions: 'And, O Lord,



so far as it may be lawful in me, I commend to thy fatherly goodness the *soul of my departed wife*; beseeching the to *grant* her whatever is best in her *present state*, and *finally to receive her to eternal happiness.*' [Boswell's italics]. But this state has not been looked on with horror, but only as less gracious." Edmund Malone, editor of a later edition of the *Life*, adds this comment: "It does not appear that Johnson was fully persuaded that there was a middle state; his prayers being only *conditional* that such a state existed."

Thus as we look at the workings of the marvellous mind of Samuel Johnson, we see that religion was a prominent object of his thoughts. When he was twenty-eight, having entered upon his literary career, he wrote in his "minutes," which he kept by way of a diary: "Sept. 7, 1736, I have this day entered upon my twenty-eighth year. May thou, O God, enable me for Jesus Christ's sake to spend this day in such a manner, that I may receive comfort from it at the hour of death, and in the day of Judgement! Amen." (*Life*, I, 30).

Johnson left a number of manuscripts, which passed soon after his death into the care of the Rev. George Strahan, D.D., prebendary of Rochester and vicar of Islington. Of this collection Boswell says (*Life*, II, 554): "It proves with unquestionable authenticity, that amidst all his constitutional infirmities, his earnestness to conform his practice to the precepts of Christianity was unceasing, and that he habitually endeavored to refer every transaction of his life to the will of the Supreme Being."

But Edmund Malone doubts whether Johnson intended the publication of such a work as the "Prayers and Meditations" which Dr. Strahan proceeded to edit and publish. The writings which Johnson desired to have published were issued as he wrote them. Anything he did not publish was not so intended, and Dr. Strahan assumed his enterprise solely on his own initiative. This, at least, was the conclusion of Dr. William Adams, Johnson's friend, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, who disclaimed all knowledge of the papers, and stated that he would have opposed their publication, had he known of them.

The sermons in this posthumous volume—at least a good many of them—were composed by Johnson for the Rev. John Taylor, LL.D. The two men had been at school and college together. This no doubt accounted for their continued intimacy, and Johnson's writing for Taylor may have been due to that old association. Sir Joshua Reynolds, however, furnished Boswell with a stronger reason. "For John-



son mentioned to him that he had been told by Taylor that he should be his heir. I shall not take upon me to animadvert upon this; but certain it is that Johnson paid great attention to Taylor." Whether Johnson wrote the entire twenty-five which are presented matters but little, for they add nothing to his fame.

Actually Johnson had no illusions about himself as a sermonizer. In his "fourth class" of egotists (*Life*, II, 156) he places "journalists, temporal and spiritual: Elias Ashmole, William Lily, George Whitfield, John Wesley, and a thousand other old women and fanatic writers of memoirs and meditations." Yet the fact that the twenty-five sermons have been preserved, with Johnson's name attached to them, is sufficient evidence that he not only tasted preaching, but that he carried preaching from the coffee-house and dinner-table into the pulpit, albeit vicariously.

The sermons and meditations were first published by the Rev. Samuel Hayes, after having been found on Johnson's table at the time of his death. One of them was unfinished. In his diaries there is a reference to the work being done for the Rev. John Taylor; and the modern reader will agree with Boswell's conviction that "internal evidence from the power of thinking and style" shows the composition to have been from Johnson's pen. But they add nothing to his fame as a writer or even as a churchman. When they were read in the parish church of Dr. Taylor they probably were, like most village sermons of any period, listened to by weary congregations waiting for a stopping place so they could go home to dinner.

Most of Johnson's prayers in manuscript are in the possession of the library of Pembroke College, Oxford, but occasionally Johnsonian remains are discovered elsewhere. The American Johnsonian, the late A. Edward Newton, secured from a London bookseller a holograph prayer, of which Birbeck Hall says, "Having passed into the cabinet of a collector it remains as yet unpublished." It is dated at Ashbourne, Sept. 5, 1784, probably when Johnson was returning to London from his last visit to Lichfield. Johnson died on Dec. 13 of that year. It seems to reveal that he had settled in his mind that his days were few, but that he was ready to "lead a better life," strengthened by the Holy Spirit "against perplexities," so that finally when called to another state he would be received to everlasting happiness.

Mr. Newton adds that "prayers in Dr. Johnson's hand are excessively rare. He wrote a large number, modeled evidently upon the beautiful Collects—prose sonnets—of the Church of England Prayer Book; but after publication by their first editor, Dr. George Strahan, in 1785,

most of the originals were deposited in the Library of Pembroke College, Oxford; hence their scarcity."

The collects which Johnson preserved cover a period of nearly fifty years. They follow the style of the Book of Common Prayer, both as to construction and language. The theology is catholic; and in the case of prayers for the departed (such as for Mrs. Johnson) they indicate that during the dreary days of Hanoverian latitudinarianism the elements of the Faith, later preached by the Tractarians, were being taught in homes of Englishmen.

Before he entered upon the writing of the *Rambler* or the *Dictionary* Johnson said—or at least he wrote—his prayers, to be used when he kept the feasts and fasts of the Church, to be used before he received the Holy Communion, to be used when his eye "was restored to use."

Like the Devotions of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes or of Bishop Wilson, Johnson's prayers and meditations reveal the soul of a man "naturally Christian." On Good Friday, 1784, he wrote: "I have made no reformation; I have lived totally useless, more sensual in thought, and more addicted to wine and meat. Grant me, O God, to amend my life, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen. I hope to put my rooms in order (Disorder I have found one great cause of idleness). I fasted all day."

Johnson was a regular attendant and communicant at the Church of St. Clement Danes. On Easter afternoon, 1770, he wrote, "I am just returned from the communion, having been very little interrupted in my duty by bodily pain, I was very early at church and used this prayer (which he placed in his diary) before service, with proper collects. I was composed during the service. I went to the table to hear the preparatory part of the office, then returned to my pew, and tried to settle some resolutions.

"I resolved to form, from this day, some plan of reading the Scriptures.

"To rise by eight or earlier.

"To form a plan for the regulation of my daily life.

"To excite in myself such a fervent desire of pleasing God, as should suppress all other passions.

"I prayed through all the collections of meditation, with some extempore prayers, recommended my friends, living and dead. When I turned to the table, I staid until most had communicated, and in the meantime tried to settle my mind, prayed against bad and troublesome thoughts; resolved to oppose sudden incursions of them; and, which I think had been thrown into my mind at the general confession. When I

went first to the table, the particular series of my thoughts I cannot recollect. When I came home, I returned thanks by accommodating the general Thanksgiving; and used this prayer again, with the collects, after receiving. I hope God has heard me.

"Shall I ever receive the Sacrament with tranquility? Surely the time will come. Some vain thoughts stole upon me while I stood near the table: I hope I ejected them effectually, so as not to be hurt by them.

"I went to prayers at seven, having fasted; read the two Morning Lessons in Greek. At night I read Clark's sermon on the Humiliation of our Saviour."

All this devotional exercise occurred at St. Clement Danes, in whose churchyard there is a statue of the Doctor, facing the Strand, a street he loved best, and appearing ready to "defend the most minute circumstance connected with the Church of England." Hither he toiled up the Strand each Sunday, fulfilling, as he wrote in 1755, his scheme for life on Sunday. "Having lived not without an habitual reverence for the Sabbath, yet without that attention to the religious duties which Christianity requires."

He resolved to rise early on Sunday mornings, and to get to bed early on Saturday nights. He proposed to go to church twice, to instruct his family, and "to wear off by meditation any worldly soil contracted during the week."

Thus is Samuel Johnson revealed as a sincere Christian and Churchman by his own words which were written for his eyes alone. Few men of eminence have had the advantage of such a biographer as James Boswell, who accompanied his patron and friend to the coffee-shops of London, to the Provinces, and into the islands of the North, where "we had the music of the bagpipe every day . . . Dr. Johnson appeared fond of it, and used often to stand for some time with his ear to the great drone."

Boswell moreover was taken to assemblies frequented by such noted persons as Dr. Burney, Sir Joshua Reynolds, David Garrick and Oliver Goldsmith. Then on Sundays he was taken to church, even on the Tour in the Hebrides, where they visited the Episcopal churches.

Sir John Hawkins (1719-1789) was one of Johnson's close friends and one of his executors. He wrote, after the Doctor's death, that "Johnson's religion had a tincture of enthusiasm, arising, it is conjectured, from the fervor of his imagination, and the perusal of St. Augustine and other writings of Kempis and the ascetics, which promp-

ted him to the employment of composing meditations and devotional exercises. It farther produced in him an habitual reverence for the Name of God, which he was never known to utter but on proper occasions and with due respect, and operated on those who were admitted to his conversation as a powerful restraint of all profane discourse and idle discussion of theological questions; and lately it inspired him with that charity without which we are told that all pretensions to religion are vain."

Thus does Samuel Johnson stand revealed as a Christian by his devotional writings and the testimony of his friends, and as a Churchman by his faithfulness to Prayer Book requirements. He was a sincere and tender soul, who, although he might rage against stupidity; had his prejudices and inability to understand others; yet who was so kind that he hesitated to wound the dignity of his servant Francis by sending the boy out for oysters for his favorite cat Hodge, but himself went to the fishmongers. A curious man, Samuel Johnson, and a good man!

## "THE DOCTRINAL REPORT" AND ANGLICAN THEOLOGY

By W. NORMAN PITTENGER

I wonder if the words "The Doctrinal Report" mean anything to many of our instructed laity and to our younger clergy? It is nearly twenty years since the Archbishops' Commission on Doctrine in the Church of England issued its report. Much has happened in the time since then; and the shift in general theological orientation has been such as to make many dismiss the document as belonging to the "old days" before the war. I have been surprised, and disturbed, to learn that in the teaching of theology in many of our seminaries no reference is made to this Report, so that the young priest is not acquainted with what is one of the most remarkable and important points in our Anglican Communion's recent history.

With all this in mind, I wish in this essay to discuss the Report in the hope that those who are already familiar with it will read it through again, and that those who do not know it will obtain a copy and master its contents. It is still in print—published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in London, in both a cloth and

a paper-bound edition, and sold in this country through S.P.C.K.'s American agents, the Macmillan Company.

During the years between 1905 and 1925, the Church of England—and sister-communions like our own Episcopal Church—went through a period of serious theological tension. The basic problem was theological reconstruction. On the one hand, a considerable group of thinkers were insistent on the necessity for a very thorough, even radical, renovation of Christian theology, in the light of the results of historical, biblical, and scientific knowledge acquired during the last century and still pouring in upon the Church. On the other hand, there was a considerable group who denied this necessity and believed that their opponents were too enamoured with keeping "up to date." In a way, the controversy was between "fundamentalist" and "modernist;" but in the Anglican Communion, both in England and elsewhere, these terms did not mean what they meant for the Protestant denominations (like the Presbyterians and the Baptists) which were at the same period undergoing their "time of troubles."

In those bodies, "fundamentalism" meant a strict biblical literalism with its doctrinal consequences, while "modernism" (a misnomer in such denominations) really denoted a "liberal Protestantism" in which many of the basic traditional emphases of historical Christianity were seriously minimized or even denied. "Liberal Protestantism" as found in Protestants like Harnack in Germany, and King and others in the United States, found the essence of Christianity in the teaching of Jesus about the fatherhood of God, man's brotherhood, and eternal life, regarding assertions like the Incarnation and Atonement as at best *Aberglaube* or "over-beliefs."

With Anglicans, however, there was very little if any biblical literalism or "fundamentalism" in that sense; the late nineteenth century had pretty well removed such thinking from our midst. If there was "fundamentalism" at all, it was "credal" fundamentalism, in which the various phrases in the Apostles' or Nicene Creeds were looked upon as unchangeable and unquestionable. On the other hand, "modernism" in our Anglican circles meant, as it still means where the word is being used (as I myself should wish still to use it), the attempt from within the historic Church and its institutional life with its doctrinal traditions, to re-think, re-work, re-state the basic affirmations including the Incarnation and the Atonement, so that they would be understandable to, and make sense for, a new generation. It also meant an insistent and consistent effort to discriminate between cen-

tral or essential *credenda* and those which are peripheral or secondary. And it was between these two groups that the tension arose.

In Britain, the classical case was that of the Reverend J. M. Thompson, Fellow and Dean of Divinity of Magdalen College, Oxford, whose books were severely criticized and whose position was condemned by leaders like Bishop Gore of Oxford. To Thompson's support came the two Lady Margaret Professors, William Sanday of Oxford and James Franklin Bethune-Baker of Cambridge, and many others like Dr. Inge, then Dean of St. Paul's, London, and Dr. Hensley Henson, then vicar of St. Margaret's, Westminster and later Bishop of Durham. In the United States, the most notable case was that of the Reverend Dr. Algernon Sidney Crapsey of Rochester, who was deposed for his views after a somewhat unfortunately conducted trial, while about twenty years later the Reverend Lee W. Heaton of Fort Worth, Texas, just escaped a trial for heresy when such distinguished clergymen as the then rector of St. Bartholomew's, New York, Leighton Parks, and such bishops as William Lawrence of Massachusetts defended his right to his opinions.

The result of the controversy in England was the appointment by the Archbishops of a commission whose purpose was to enquire into the range of beliefs in the Church, to secure whatever common agreement might be possible, and (although this was not explicitly stated in the agenda) to determine what "limits" were to be set to theological opinion. The commission was a most distinguished one; it included in its membership such men as A. E. Taylor, C. C. J. Webb, Oliver C. Quick, L. W. Grensted, B. H. Streeter, E. Gordon Selwyn, and William Temple, to mention but a few. For a dozen and more years, the commission met once or twice annually, each time for several days. All the points of theological disagreement were canvassed and there was complete freedom for discussion among the members. At length, in 1938, the Report of the Doctrinal Commission (as it was called) made its appearance, with a long preface by Dr. Temple, then Archbishop of York and the chairman of the commission.

It is this Report with which I am here concerned. It is a volume of about 200 pages, including introduction and especially long closing sections on problems of the ministry and the eucharistic sacrament. The first part of the Report, however, concerns itself with the general structure of Christian theology as our communion understands it. Here we find most of the major points of controversy noted and various positions outlined; and in each instance, an agreement is reached as to



what essentially the Church holds, with appended notes where differences of interpretation are indicated.

At the time when the Report was published, it was my privilege to write, for one of our American church periodicals, a lengthy review-article. I then pointed out, what I should still maintain today, that the Report is a remarkable document in that it manifests the basic unity of all schools of Anglican thought on essential matters and at the same time allows for wide diversity of approach, interpretation, and expression, leaving many secondary matters open for discussion and even for disagreement. In this respect, it recalls the famous King's Book of 1536, in which a distinction is made between "things necessary" and "things indifferent"—although, of course, the content of these terms is not the same in the twentieth century as it was in the sixteenth.

It is not my purpose in this paper to treat, in detail, the various sections of the Report. Suffice it to say that it allows for the fullest use of criticism and historical knowledge, that it acknowledges (as did the equally important, although now also largely forgotten, *Lambeth 1930 Report*) the contribution of modern science to our understanding of God's creativity and self-expression in the world, and that it insists on the large and inclusive nature of our Anglican way of holding the central Christian faith.

One thing is apparent to any reader of the document. This is the way in which it is shown that when the members of the commission sought to penetrate beneath the *words* (the theological "verbalizations," so to speak) for which various groups contended, it was discovered that there was an almost complete agreement on *meanings*. And I think it worth observing that those of us who during the past decade have served on the Authors' Committee which has prepared the American Church's "Teaching of the Church Series," have found exactly the same fundamental agreements, once we got behind the verbal statements familiar to and insisted on by different kinds of "Anglican emphases" or "parties."

Furthermore, the Report stresses the *big* things in our Christian faith, showing that disagreements on, say, the historicity of the narratives concerning our Lord's birth or the mode of his resurrection, do not affect the agreement of all the participants on the truth of the Incarnation of God in Christ or the fact of his rising-again from the dead in the full integrity of his person. Similarly with regard to the stories in the gospels which tell of the so-called "miracles" wrought by Jesus,



agreement is found as to the stupendous impact of his life and the enormous impression which it left with his disciples, while the manner of interpreting the stories themselves is left open for discussion and even disagreement.

It is unquestionably true, as Archbishop Temple remarked in his introduction, that the stress which continental neo-orthodoxy and the theological revival of our time have laid on man's sin and on the redemptive aspect of our Lord's ministry and work is not found so strongly stated in the Report. For myself, looking back over the nearly quarter-century now past, I should say that I am contented with the way in which the Report handles these matters and should point out that the more recent emphases are exaggerations (necessary, indeed, after a period of too optimistic thinking on man and his potentialities) which are at last by way of being reduced and seen in proper perspective. But even if Temple was correct, the main elements in the Report stand firm and deserve our most careful attention.

Finally, the Report discusses, with admirable care and precision, the question of "religious language," a question very much to the fore to-day. It does not succumb to the notion that all religious speech is universally "myth," for it emphasizes the historical ground of Christian faith; on the other hand, it points out what it calls the "symbolic" (we should today perhaps wish to speak of the "mythological" or "metaphorical") nature of religious discourse, especially in our worship but also in our theology. In other words, it discriminates between *mythological speaking* and "myth," making clear that while all our religious speaking has this metaphorical or symbolical quality, this does not signify that *all the data* with which we deal are to be seen as "mythical." The story of creation or that of the "fall" are not in the same category as the Incarnation. Furthermore, the Report distinguishes between the basic story of the Incarnation, with its historical grounding (however the "facts" may be conveyed to us—a subject upon which "form-criticism" has much to teach us), and the possibility of "legendary" accompaniments to and vehicles for that story and its historicity.

The Doctrinal Report did not possess, at the time of its publication, and does not now possess, any canonical or legal weight in the Church of England—nor, of course, in any of its sister-communions like our own. But it does represent the careful work of distinguished and devout scholars, keenly aware of the situation in which people find themselves; and it does provide a guide for us in our thinking about all these matters. Some of the material on the ministry and the eucha-

ristic sacrament is of special usefulness today, too, since the agreement on the Anglican conception of the ministry and on the Anglican understanding of the meaning of the Holy Communion has direct relevance to such problems as our relationship with the Church of South India and the wider question of Christian reunion.

Not so long ago, an English writer urged that the Doctrinal Report be "taken off the shelf" to which it had been consigned during the troubled days of war and war's aftermath. How right he was! We can all of us profit by studying it; and it is possible that, when we do, we shall discover that it has much to teach us today, at a time when (as some of us feel) there is a crying need for a new alertness to, and a new dedication to, the never-ending task of theological reconstruction.

## ROME MEETS GENEVA

By E. L. ALLEN

Christ Church, New Zealand

*Rechtfertigung: die lehre Karl Barths und eine katholische Besinnung.* By Hans Küng. Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1957, pp. 304. DM. 18.50.

Not since the Reformation has there been such an effort at mutual understanding on the part of Catholics and Protestants as that of which we are witnesses today. On each side there are those who, without in any sense wavering in their allegiance, are willing to salute the other as a partner in truth. On the Protestant side, the New Testament scholars point the way: Cullmann, Leuba, and Stauffer acknowledge that Catholic appeal to the earliest sources is not without its justification. For Catholicism, a convert like Louis Bouyer argues in *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism* that the church to which he now belongs is a better guardian of the genuine Protestant insights than the one from which he came, and assures his fellow-Catholics that Protestant piety can be as authentically Christian as anything within their communion.

It was only to be expected that, given this new approach to things Protestant, Catholic theologians would interest themselves in its foremost living exponent, Karl Barth. More than one remarkably fair study of him by a Catholic writer has appeared, and now Hans Küng has given us the most important yet in his *Rechtfertigung*. It is a

patient and exact enquiry into how Karl Barth presents the doctrine of justification in his *Dogmatik*, and an assessment of it from the point of view of Catholic theology. His conclusion is that Rome and Geneva speak with one voice, though with different accents. Barth's anti-Catholic polemic is, of course, to be rejected. "But we may not overlook the fact that in the doctrine of justification, taken as a whole, there is basic agreement between Karl Barth's doctrine and that of the Catholic Church."

How is this surprising result reached? It is reached, in the first place, by a frank admission that the Tridentine decrees were historically conditioned. They present the truth, but do not claim that what they present is the *whole* truth. As Bouyer has argued, the members of the Council were still in the grip of the decaying scholasticism of the late Middle Ages, their purpose was polemic and their statements therefore one-sided. The Catholic theologian does not consider an official formula as settling the question once for all. It marks a point reached in the development of doctrine, a position not to be abandoned indeed, but one that should serve as a starting-point for further enquiry and more comprehensive statement. Catholicism is living and moving, it is not to be identified for ever with what was decided four thousand years ago.

Secondly, there are many points at which the difference between Catholic and Protestant, while real, is less one of substance than one of emphasis. One has to bear in mind that there may be agreement on the thing while disagreement on the name to be attached to it. This is especially the case where justification is concerned. Küng makes the point neatly: "Protestants speak of *declaring* righteous, Catholics of *making* righteous. But Protestants speak of a declaring righteous that includes making righteous, and Catholics of a making righteous that presupposes declaring righteous. Is it not time to drop these polemics in which what each of us says just goes right past the other?" Alternatively, one may observe that Catholics prefer to treat under the rubric of "redemption" what Protestants ascribe to "justification."

But what of the *sola fide*? Is not that a point at which Catholic and Protestant are bound to part company? Not at all. For example, who wrote of the Decalogue: *Non est ergo in eis spes justificationis, sed in sola fide*? Luther? No, it was Thomas Aquinas. Salvation is not in part of God and in part of man, it is of God wholly. Therefore it is by faith alone altogether apart from any works of ours. Of course, saving faith is not mere belief, not barren assent to propositions, it cannot

exist without love and hope, faith without works is dead. Rome teaches that, but so do Wittenberg and Geneva. Only, whereas they choose to make clear the distinction between the faith that saves and the works that accompany it, Rome prefers to make clear the association between the two.

But what of Luther's description of the Christian as *simul justus et peccator*? Is there not a real distinction here and not merely a verbal one? Does not Lutheranism tend to reduce the Christian life to forgiveness of ineradicable sin, while Catholicism insists that the Christian is a new man? But certainly Barth does not deny that the Christian has risen again with Christ, that the powers of a new life are at work in him; he only maintains that his righteousness, even so, is by God's grace rather than by his achievement. And does not the Catholic Church teach the same? Is there not evidence of this in the confession of sin the priest makes when he celebrates Mass? Küng would go so far as to say: *Ecclesia simul justa et peccatrix*. Here again the difference is one of emphasis. The Catholic stresses what is achieved, the Protestant what is still lacking.

Karl Barth has paid the writer of this book the highest of compliments. He contributes a preface in which he states (a) that Küng has correctly stated his own position and (b) that, if the Roman Catholic position is indeed as set out by him, then he is in complete agreement with it—or, as he prefers to say, it is in complete agreement with him. But he cannot really think that Küng will be accepted by his coreligionists. And, when one has finished reading the book, a doubt remains. Has Christendom really been divided for four centuries over where the accent is to be placed? It is difficult to think that the explanation is so simple. If so, where do we go from here? We must endeavour to uncover the presuppositions that divide so seriously just because neither side feels the need to formulate them explicitly.

I would say that the Incarnation is accepted by both parties to the controversy, yet that each understands it in its own way. For the Catholic, the Incarnation is principle as well as event, for the Protestant it is event only. Hence the readiness with which the former can extend the principle beyond the event to the Church, the ministry, and the sacraments, while for the latter the event is unique and unrepeatable. For Catholicism the Church is the extension of the Incarnation, a divine-human reality in the midst of the world; some Protestant theologians have recently begun to use this language, but it is truer to the Reformation to speak of the Church as Professor T. W. Manson

does, as the extension of the ministry of Christ. The one view expresses the authority of the Church, the other its obedience.

Barth's *Romans* stated the Protestant position in an extreme form that has since become as unacceptable to him as it was at the time to many of his readers. God is related to the world as a tangent to its circle, touching it at a dimensionless point. God is the "Wholly Other," he impinges upon the world vertically from above, there is "an infinite qualitative difference between time and eternity." It is significant that in proportion as he has abandoned these earlier statements the criticism of Catholics has been modified. God is not for them the opponent of the human as such, for grace does not destroy nature but brings it to fulfilment. The Word having once become flesh in Christ, now goes on to appoint a visible representative in the world, to invest the hierarchy with his authority, and to clothe himself each day on the altar with the species of bread and wine. All this seems to the Protestant so much human arrogance. For him, God and man met once for all in Jesus Christ and nothing may be allowed to mar the unique glory of that awe-inspiring and redeeming event.

If this analysis is correct, our difference is not likely to be resolved easily. But at least we know where it lies.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*A Companion to the Bible.* Edited by J. J. von Allmen, with an Introduction by H. H. Rowley. Oxford University Press, 1958, pp. 479. \$6.00.

The Editor J.-J. von Allmen tells us in his preface that he was dissuaded from calling this work *Words and the Word of God*. The resultant French title was the tamer *Vocabulaire Biblique*. Certainly our present English title *A Companion to the Bible* is misleading. What we have here is not an introduction to biblical studies but a treatment of the major theological concepts in the Old and New Testament. Thirty-six French and Swiss Protestant scholars have collaborated with the editor in the work. Of these, only two are relatively well known to American readers, Oscar Cullmann who has one article, that on Authorities, and Suzanne de Dietrich who writes on Neighbour, Witness. It would have been helpful if, as in the case of Richardson's

*A Theological Word Book of the Bible* with which the present work may be most closely compared, some statement as to the academic position of the contributors had been added to identify them.

The book has been designed to meet the needs of that hypothetical person, the average reader. Accordingly bibliographical references have been omitted with the rather cavalier explanation "Clergy who are at all well-read will know where to find such information: as for the laity, it hardly seemed necessary to refer them to publications which for the most part would bewilder them by their scientific character." Certainly in the English edition it would have been helpful to have reference to the Continental literature of which even the well-read clergy may not be cognizant and to "the best Theologies of the Old and New Testaments" which were used.

There is also appearing in increasing numbers popular material to which the average man might be referred. For the English reader there is the "Studies in Biblical Theology" series of which more than twenty monographs have now appeared. The first of these, "Baptism in the New Testament" by Oscar Cullmann, might well have been mentioned by von Allmen in his article on Baptism. Indeed Cullmann wrote in answer to Karl Barth's attack upon infant baptism, but there is no hint of this controversy in von Allmen. The omission is symptomatic of the general attitude of the authors. There is not too much concern with varying viewpoints. The basic source for the present volume has been the comprehensive Kittel's *Wörterbuch* whose leading articles are beginning to appear in English translation. Elsewhere in this issue Zimmerli and Jeremias, *The Servant of God* is reviewed, No. 20 in the Biblical Theology series. It runs to 107 pages whereas the article in the Companion is under four columns. This is indicative of the comparative scope of the two publications. The purpose behind the present volume has been to treat fewer topics more comprehensively. For example it has ten articles under the letter A to twenty-one in Richardson which is itself selective and which runs to only 290 pages against the 474 of von Allmen. However there is still room for improvement. Why for example are there separate articles on Servant and Slave? As in the case of Richardson there are numerous cross references for words not discussed. In the article themselves references are made to the treatment of other terms and phrases. This saves repetition and keeps the discussion streamlined. Most of the articles are broken down into sub-topics easily followed.

The tone of the work is throughout religious and devotional. It is



the product of reverent scholarship. The editor remarks that whatever the term under discussion it "only yields its secret when referred to the Word, Jesus Christ." When carried to the extreme such a method can undercut thoroughgoing critical research. The tendency is present in this and not everyone will agree with the insights expressed. Statements are made categorically where the evidence is open to question. The article on Amen is a good example of this treatment. It goes back to the root meaning of the Hebrew word and indicates the variety of its derivatives. It continues with the liturgical use of the term both in the Old and New Testaments. When, however, the author maintains that "it is a solemn formula—by which Jesus—affirms—His Messianic authority," he goes beyond fact to opinion. Also is it without question that God has chosen Abraham not for himself but for the salvation of all nations, p. 38a? Other articles such as those on Creation, God, Sacrifice are much more objective.

In most cases the actual Hebrew and Greek terms under discussion are not given or defined. There is however considerable difference of treatment on this point. On Falsehood O. T. we are told for example that there are more than a dozen terms which are more or less closely connected with the word but they are not given. So also on Prayer. The article on Love states that the Hebrew has only a single principal verb to express the various shades of meaning. Richardson lists ten other roots. The articles on Forgiveness, Sin discuss the various terms used but do not give the Hebrew and Greek originals. Contrast once more Richardson on this point. In the article on Baptism the etymology of the word comes out incidentally in a parenthesis on p. 33b. The articles on Law, Life, Ransom, for example, do give the original of the terms involved.

In the case of Servant only the O.T. usage is considered, whereas the reverse is true with Repentance where no mention is made of the O.T. It would seem that more use could have been made of the wealth of archaeological material available, especially for the O.T. For example, the first article, that on Adoption, asserts on the basis of the absence of the abstract term that legal adoption was not known among the Jews. Yet we have the evidence of Gen. 15:3ff coupled with the Hurrian tablets from Nuzu which indicate that this is a clear case of adoption. There is an occasional reference to archaeological material as in the citation of the Ugaritic literature on Bread. In the article on Covenant no mention is made of the Hittite parallels. The article on Church refers to the Qumran material but there is no allusion in that



on Light to the Qumran light vs. darkness motif. In the very good article on Feasts it would have been helpful in the reference to the Festival of Yahweh's Coronation, if the pertinent O.T. passages, as well as the extra-biblical analogies, had been cited and not merely alluded to in passing.

Every reader will of course miss articles which he feels should have been included. It is surprising that there is no mention even in the way of cross reference to Expiation, Propitiation. However the overall coverage is good and the book as a whole is interesting and clear. If one is prepared to discount its occasional theological over-simplification it will be a valuable and useful tool to the informed reader.

CORWIN C. ROACH

*The History of Israel.* By Martin Noth. Harper & Brothers, 1958, pp. viii + 479. \$7.50.

John Bright in his *Early Israel in Recent History Writing* gave the English reader his first good introduction to the school of Alt and Noth. Now we have in English dress for the first time a lengthy sample of the work of this school, Noth's large scale *The History of Israel*. This is a translation from the revised edition of a work which first appeared in 1950. At the same time it is the first serious over-all history to appear in English since Osterley and Robinson's *A History of Israel* appeared in 1932. Noth is not as detailed but in compensation he is at home in the archaeological material which the former work virtually ignored. Noth insists that not to refer to this material constantly is indefensible. However, he warns against the other extreme in drawing too hasty parallels. Indeed, his own original use and sometimes avoidance of the material will not always meet with general favor.

The Introduction is a workmanlike review of the geography, the pre-Hebraic history of Palestine and the sources available. The discussion in places is almost too concise to be helpful for the average reader. In the reference to the extra-biblical literature, for example, we could wish for a more extensive study. However, the section on the Hyksos is admirable. Noth is inclined to depreciate any close connection between the Habiru of the Amarna tablets and Israel. Subsequently he argues that the Israelite entry took place beginning with the second half of the 14th century and that it was part of the Aramaean movement and not the earlier Hyksos. Any Hurrian-Hyksos elements in the Old Testament were derived second hand from the Canaanites.

For Noth the supreme source of the history of Israel is the Old Testament. The sentence with which he concludes his introduction states his viewpoint. "The Old Testament is not merely a treasury of traditional historical information but, on a higher plane, the real source for the history of Israel besides which all other sources must be regarded as secondary, in so far as it not only gives a coherent account of the external course of this history over a fairly long period, but also utters the decisive word towards an understanding of this history."

The starting point of Israelite history for Noth (and we might almost say its end) is the occupation of Palestine. He speaks of it as "the self-assertion of the tribes in Palestine." Not only was there no Israel before this but there were hardly any individual tribes. Noth holds that most of their names are derived from Palestinian place-names. Accordingly he starts with the occupation and then works back to the traditions antecedent to it. He will not speak of a conquest. Instead the Hebrews took the undesirable parts of the land not already pre-empted. They occupied no cities, they left no sizable ruins. Archaeology is at a loss therefore if it attempts to date a "conquest" by the destruction of the fortified cities. The Hebrews were not responsible. The towns destroyed each other. This is certainly at the farthest extreme possible from the "blitz-krieg" of Joshua *iff*. However, Noth regards these chapters as merely aetiological narratives concerned with Benjamin. It is this tribe which approached a Jericho which was already defenseless. Scholarly opinion has wavered back and forth concerning the historicity of the Joshua conquest and particularly in regard to its extent. The tendency is now to give the story more credence. Noth goes far in the opposite direction and much too far in my opinion. While Galilee and Judah may have been occupied by gradual infiltration, crossing the Jordan was certainly a more heroic undertaking. At least the central Joseph group, Benjamin as well as Ephraim and Manasseh, made common cause to achieve it. Space will not allow a detailed consideration of Noth's account of the occupation. He is provocative but not always convincing. Although we would admit that the tribes were fluid and that at least at the start they may have conquered few of the cities of the land, Noth goes to the extreme on both counts.

This raises a serious question about the thesis of the twelve tribe amphictyony being put back into the time of Joshua. If the latter had nothing to do with the conquest of the land we are left with no real explanation as to how he was able to initiate the amphictyony. She-

chem was certainly an established center of Hebrew life as I Kings 12:1 indicates. This may go back to the days of Joshua the conquering general who may well have established such a center for the tribes under his control. However, it is with difficulty that we can conceive of a federation of twelve tribes assembling there for the stated feasts in these early days when the Canaanite occupation of Jerusalem and the fortresses of the Megiddo plain divided Palestine proper into three sectors. Nor would any practical purpose be served by including in the twelve month rota the earlier tribes who had already disappeared.

Other questions arise. Was there just one ark, "the common object of worship which united the society of the twelve tribes of Israel" p. 91? Is there any justification in distinguishing between the judges, associating Jephthah with the five minor judges as non-charismatic leaders and regarding these latter as amphictyonic law givers? Would the Hebrews have established their amphictyonic center at or near cities still in the hands of the Canaanites, p. 94? Indeed would it have shifted from one center to another in the way Noth supposes?

Noth is particularly provocative in his discussion of the traditions antecedent to the constitution of the amphictyony. The patriarchs were historical persons who were recipients of the divine promise of the land of Palestine for their descendants. They are not to be taken as tribal personifications, but see p. 159. They were associated with the worship at the sacred sites in Palestine although for Noth it is questionable whether they themselves ever worshipped at these shrines, p. 122. Most students would agree with Noth in maintaining the historicity of the Exodus and the fact that all the tribes did not take part. However, Noth dissociates the Exodus from the Sinai revelation tradition and from Moses. Indeed the latter's connection with the Exodus tradition is itself tenuous, p. 135. The most solid evidence concerns his tomb, a site which tradition tells us no one knows.

Noth carries his history through the war of 135 A.D. For the most part he follows the beaten track. One might raise a few questions. In the light of Judges 19 can we say that the Hebrews felt Canaanite morality was so far inferior to their own? Did all twelve tribes fight against the Philistines in II Samuel 4 or against the Ammonites in II Samuel 11? Was Samuel as important a political figure as Noth indicates? Did Saul reign only two years? Is the account of David's previous marriage to Michal unhistorical? Did Solomon exempt the Israelites from taskwork and were Canaanites and Hebrews still separate entities in his reign? Did the North come down to worship at the Jeru-

saalem temple as early as the post-Solomonic period? Can we give credence to the early decrees in Ezra as well as accept the authoritative position of Ezra as readily as does Noth? Did Sheshbazzar really begin the rebuilding of the temple?

On the other hand some of Noth's insights are worth noting. Since the monarchy was a later development in Israel it is dangerous to surround it uncritically with the ideas and practises associated with kingship elsewhere in the Orient. Palestine rather than Babylon was probably the center of Israel's development after the fall. The deuteronomic history, as well as P and the final Pentateuch, may well come from Palestine.

The further we proceed the more schematic the treatment becomes. In spite of the quotation we have cited Noth does not use his Old Testament material adequately. The prophets are dismissed briefly and no reference is made to Psalms, Job or Ecclesiastes. Noth has given us an important study of the history of Israel particularly in its first phases but we still lack an up-to-date comprehensive work.

Since the work was designed originally for German readers Noth is content to state his conclusion and refer for documentation to the German literature, not always readily available to the average American reader. The translation is poorly done and the nomenclature is quite often a little startling and not always consistent. For example the Egyptian Pharaoh is Schoschenk p. 230 and Shishak p. 238. There are a number of obvious typographical errors which should be corrected in a second edition. It is curious in a book which relies so heavily upon topographical data that there is not a single map.

CORWIN C. ROACH

*The Scrolls and the New Testament*, Edited by K. Stendahl. Harper and Bros., 1957, pp. ix + 308.

This volume is a collection of essays—many of them reprinted from scholarly journals—illustrating some of the many ways in which the Dead Sea scrolls have influenced New Testament criticism.

Professor Stendahl has contributed an important introductory essay in which he reviews briefly the discussion of the relationship of the Dead Sea sect to Christianity and then develops his own account of this relationship. He emphasizes first the similarity of the two groups as Jewish *sects*, which he thinks they were because they identified their own members as the elect, by contrast with such mere *parties* as the

Pharisees and Saducees, who did not attribute eschatological significance to membership in their own groups. Next he discusses the differences between the two sects, and explains these as resulting from the more intense eschatological expectation of the Christians—it was this which made Jesus an already risen and enthroned Messiah (as the Teacher of Righteousness was not) which made the death of Jesus an atoning sacrifice of which the consequent forgiveness was already available, and which so made already possible the mission to the Gentiles.

O. Cullmann, after reviewing rapidly his own list of the similarities and differences between Christianity and the Dead Sea sect, tries to determine the connection between the two, and finds it in the Hellenists of Acts 6, 9 (and 11?) whom (following Bacon) he connects with the Gospel of John on one hand, and esoteric Judaism and Samaritanism on the other. The tantalizing thing about this theory is that it is not *wholly* without evidence.

W. Brownlee has written an imaginative and eloquent account of John the Baptist as a child brought up by the Dead Sea sect and a man who turned from them to call the whole nation to repentance, and who eventually recognized the Lamb of God, destined to consume his foes with fire (that John subsequently sent to the Lamb of God to ask whether or not this identification had been a mistake, is not explained).

In three essays, K. Kuhn deals successively with the Qumran sect's expectation of two Messiah's, the similarity of its communal meal to the "Lord's Supper", and the similarity of its notions of *temptation*, *sin*, and *flesh*, to those in the New Testament. The first of these essays is already famous and has generally won over scholarly opinion to recognition of the fact that the sect expected two figures which it designated as "Messiahs." The even more important article on the meals brings together substantial evidence for the dissemination of sacramental meals in Judaism prior to Christianity, and argues convincingly that in the essential account (as opposed to the Pauline or Synoptic or Johannine settings) of the last supper we have a survival of a pre-Christian cult meal of the Essene type. This piece of brilliant demonstration is marred by the presupposition that because the cult formula was evidently Jewish and Semitic, therefore hellenistic notions—such as that of sacramental incorporation into the body of Christ—must have been absent from it. There is no reason whatsoever to think that what was Jewish and Semitic could not also have been hellenistic. The false antitheses between the two cultural traditions has been repeatedly refuted of recent years. Here it involves

Kuhn in a long and completely implausible explanation of how just "a few years after the death of Jesus, the Jerusalem church" just happened to have "two different traditions about the last meal" (p. 92). But in spite of this, the article is a major contribution to the discussion of the last supper.

By contrast, Kuhn's article on *temptation, sin and flesh* is an unsatisfactory structure of forced equations between metaphors which ought not to be forced. Fortunately, it is corrected by a much more careful study by W. Davies, on the notions of *flesh* and *spirit* in Paul and in the Dead Sea documents. Davies pays the necessary attention to the peculiarities of distribution of the relevant terms and usages, and has little difficulty in showing their independent derivation, by both literatures, from a common background.

A little essay by E. Vogt demonstrates elegantly, by analogies from Qumran, the correctness of the Vulgate's understanding of Lk. 2.14: "on earth peace to men of good pleasure" i.e. to the elect of God.

K. Schubert is responsible for a little collection of parallels between Mt. 5 and the Qumran texts—half being obvious and the other half mistaken, they need not delay us.

S. Johnson has contributed a careful study of the parallels between the Manual of Discipline and the Jerusalem Church of Acts, which lead him to suppose that converts from the Qumran sect may have had considerable influence in shaping the Jerusalem community. In our ignorance of the rest of Judaism (to say nothing of the rest of Palestinian culture) during the years from 30 to 60, it is impossible to estimate the justification for such a hypothesis. If no influences were at work save those now known to us, it would seem to be justified.

An interesting article by B. Reicke uses the Qumran community as an example of a unified but hierarchical society (as opposed alike to an equalitarian one, and to one divided into classes of various ranks). Linton was led, some years ago, to postulate the existence of such a society as necessary to explain the structure of the primitive Church. Whether or not Reicke is justified in finding it in Qumran depends on whether or not the exhortations to unity and unanimity in the sect's documents are to be taken as proof that these qualities existed in the sect, or as proof that they did not.

An unusually clear and sensible article by R. Brown, demonstrating the extensive parallels between the Johannine and the Qumran material, is only occasionally marred by dogmatic misstatements. E.g. "In St. John no such conflict of ideas"—between predestination and free will



—"exists . . . there is no hint of anyone's being determined to evil without choice." (!) Cp. Jn. 8.43 ff. "Why do you not know my speech? Because you *cannot* hear my word. You are of your father the devil." Also Jn. 12.39 f., etc. No good cause is good enough to justify forcing the evidence. This criticism applies more frequently to the following article by J. Fitzmyer on the Qumran sect and the Ebionites. Written to refute Cullmann's theory that the remnant of the Essenes may have become Ebionites, it exaggerates every distinction between the two groups which can be found, and some which cannot. Incidentally the reader should note that Kuhn's theory as to the Iranian origin of Essene dualism—which Fitzmyer and Brown have in common—is open to serious objections. The eminent Iranian scholar, Prof. W. Lentz, has recently maintained that the only dualism in the Gathas is the result of modern mistranslation. Further, gnostic dualism is *not* primarily physical. The origin of evil for most gnostic systems is in the non-physical world of the higher powers; the physical world is merely a later concretization of demonic evil. Yet further, the generally accepted notion of the communism of the Qumran sect will have to be much modified in the light of Rabin's recent observations in his Qumran Studies. And so on.

A concluding essay by N. Glatzer attempts to find in the tradition about Hillel evidence of his competition with or stand against the Qumran sect. The attempt is especially interesting because (as the author remarks) it yields so little clear evidence and thereby raises problems far beyond the scope of a review.

All in all, this is an outstanding collection of essays, and an admirable sampler of the theories now current among competent scholars as to the relation of the Dead Sea material to the New Testament.

MORTON SMITH

*The Early Christian Church.* By Philip Carrington. Cambridge University Press, 1957, 2 vols. pp. 520 and 519. \$10.00 per vol., \$17.50 the set.

This account deals with the period from the Crucifixion to A.D. 230, with a finely-balanced chapter on the Hellenistic world as an introduction and a brief sketch of the third Christian century as epilogue. The essay proceeds with a bare minimum of scholarly apparatus, and the order of narration is by generations, places and documents. Chronological and genealogical tables are supplied, as well as lists of documents and maps; and there is a bibliography and full index in each volume.



In scope and in scholarship the work belongs with the standard ones of Kidd or Duchesne, Lietzmann or Lebreton-Zeiller. However, the text abounds in allusions without citations and in references to the views of "some critics", "many scholars", etc., while the plan of the work calls for the discussion of the same topic, person or document in two or more places. While the full indices, therefore, and the sub-headings preceding each chapter, make it relatively easy to find the Archbishop's rounded view on a given subject, other views than his own cannot be identified.

That is meant more as a statement of fact than a criticism; for the existence of important divergent interpretations is faithfully acknowledged. Indeed, anyone who tends to the 'radical criticism' point of view should rejoice at the publication of these volumes. Carrington's "personal view" is a far cry from the stiff and strident conservatism of the ecclesiastical or biblical fundamentalist. It is the conservatism of a learned and perceptive historian, of a mind cultured, urbane, knowledgeable, honest about what the modern historian knows and his limitations. He believes the best method is to take the documents at their face value wherever possible; but he is himself (as this and previous works show) a first-rate critic and—perhaps more important in some instances—a man of literary taste and discernment.

His critical position on St. Mark and on Gospel and liturgy generally is represented here, and he continues to insist quietly that "Babylon" in *Revelation* is Jerusalem. Perhaps it will be sufficient to suggest certain characteristic positions. He tends to hold to traditional views of authorship as a part of his general conservatism. In the case of the Fourth Gospel and *Revelation*, he argues for a single author on the ground that each document is best expounded in terms of the other. On the other hand, in the case of such documents as the Pastoral Epistles, I Peter, et al., he regards the present form of the document as the work of the numerous associates and followers through whom the thought of the original author is adapted to the needs and circumstances of the church. In this connection, Carrington delineates literary movements in the early church as for example that represented by *Acts* and the *Pastorals* and aimed at strengthening the authority of church tradition, as well as schools, traditions and personal relations among the leaders of local churches. This is a noteworthy and important feature of the book, and characteristic of his approach: of the triple tradition of the Galilean apostolate of Peter and the 12, the family of Jesus, especially James, and Paul, he says: "We shall find that

the inner relations of this triple tradition are the key to our study of church history for the first century or even longer" (I, 36). He is very thorough not to say ingenious in tracing out literary and other relationships among churches in various areas, getting all the mileage possible out of lists like that of *Romans* 16.

It is in the sympathetic exposition of the documents of the first five generations that the author excels. From *Galatians* to Eusebius' history each receives careful treatment. They are used respectfully, then (frequently in another place) an analysis is given and the writing is characterized: kind of literature, style, adequacy to its theme, quality of thought, literary and other affiliations and affinities, etc. The treatment of Hermas, of apocalyptic literature generally, and of Justin stand out in one's mind for sanity, sympathy, balance, humor; and in a wonderfully delicate way, there emerges as much of the personality of the writer as is in fact reflected in his document. Perhaps we may paraphrase a sentence or two from Frederick C. Grant (to whom these volumes are dedicated), and speak of Carrington's work in this connection as 'a sympathetic, imaginative historical interpretation founded upon knowledge of the world in which the document arose, and clear in its perception of that unity in the diversity of the church's life which the continuity of the works of God supplies'.

Considering the way the account is woven, moving by generations from place to place and from document to document, with an eye on the political setting and a group of related themes in hand (liturgy, apocalyptic, personal relations in the church, the flavor of local church life, leading personalities, schools and traditions) if it is remarkable how few slips there are. One had the impression on page 161 of vol. I that Luke-Acts was mostly written in Caesarea during the two years of Paul's imprisonment there; but on pp. 279 f. this suggestion is passed over if not controverted as other possible places of origin are discussed. On p. 313 of vol. I we are told flatly that Alexandrian Christianity "produced no literature at all, so far as we know"; but the full meaning of this statement is not apparent until vol. II, p. 277 and following. On p. 294 of vol. I we are told that Papias "claims to have listened to pupils or auditors of seven out of the twelve disciples"; but does the citation given (Eusebius, E. H. iii, 39, 4) really represent such a claim?

It is questions like the one just raised that come to mind more frequently than outright disagreements. A decision to take the documents at face value, when taken by a historian of critical power and literary

discernment, is certainly agreeable. But there is more than that involved. The fact that living memory is adequate and accurate over a period of eighty years, and for some facts over a period double that, in modern Quebec church life (vol. I, p. xix) is significant: but are we asked to believe that early Christians were interested in history in the way moderns are, or meant the same thing by it? Again, consider the following series of quotations: "It (the *Acts of John*) is a work of the pious imagination; but fiction has to accommodate itself to the main facts of history, and the main facts must have been well known at that time" . . . "Each legend (about the Jerusalem bishops) is weak by itself, but they combine to form what looks like a respectable tradition" . . . "However we may reconstruct the story (of first century church life) in this or that detail, this general picture remains the same" . . . "If there was really a formal council which laid down such a decree (as that of Acts 15) for the Gentiles (in Syria and Cilicia at any rate), why is it that no sign of such a thing appears in the Epistles of Paul? There seems to be a difference of emphasis here which calls for some explanation." It does not seem that such statements as these quite belong in a work of such scholarship as is here generally represented. For when all is said, this is a splendid essay, charmingly written, to whose urbane, learned and lively pages one will doubtless turn again and again for a sensitive and enthralling characterization of life in the first five generations, its persons and places.

HOLT GRAHAM

*The Formation of Christian Dogma, An Historical Study of its Problem.* By Martin Werner, translated, with an Introduction, by S. G. F. Brandon. Harper & Brothers, 1957, pp. xvi + 352. \$7.50.

Dr. Martin Werner, who is now concluding an honorable career as Professor of Church History at the University of Bern, has been deeply influenced by the work of Albert Schweitzer to whom "in memory of an old friendship" the present work is dedicated. As the basis of this translation the author produced an abridged version of his *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas*, originally published in 1941. Werner's basic position may be briefly summarized as a modification of Harnack's view of the history of dogma (as the progressive hellenization of the primitive Jewish-Christian Gospel) by Schweitzer's interpretation of what the primitive Gospel was. The disappointment of the eschatological hope (taken in its most literal sense) leads to a series of re-

constructions of Christianity as a religion of eternal salvation, finally resulting in the orthodoxy of Nicaea and Chalcedon. The intermediate stage is the "angel-christology", which Werner finds a basis for in the late-Jewish idea of a heavenly Messiah, and sees lingering on in the Arian development of Origen's subordinationism.

The critic and historian will immediately query the value of translating in 1957 a work which might as well have been written in 1915. Much water has flowed down the Rhine since Schweitzer completed his epoch-making biblical studies and moved on to the other fields of activity which have won him the deserved admiration of the world. Scholars generally have tried to assimilate Schweitzer's contributions and move on to further inquiries. Werner has of course read the more recent literature, but in most cases denies that it calls for any serious modifications in his ideas. To most learned readers his work will come as a voice from the day before yesterday.

However the journey of Werner's work from Bern to London and New York is by no means useless. It will be found helpful to have a careful presentation of this particular point of view available in English, and after all there is no reason why we shouldn't listen to what the period it represents may have to teach us as well as to the latest. And Werner's use of the sources extends into many obscure and apocryphal writings which the common survey of high spots in early Christian thought is likely to pass over.

Professor Brandon's translation is clear and conscientious—occasionally his loyalty to the original produces a rather ponderous English sentence, but this seems unavoidable in translations from the German of most scholarly works. His brief Introduction relates Werner's thesis to discussions or controversies in which he is interested, in particular his objection to the assumption he finds in H. E. W. Turner's *Pattern of Christian Truth*, "the presupposition of an original deposit of faith which constituted the sure criterion of orthodoxy, even if at first it was only apprehended instinctively" (p. xii). Isn't it possible to hold that the early Church did experience a real development, a real exploration of genuine alternatives, in the formulation of its faith, and yet find that the Athanasian and Leonine solution was, in the terms of the age, sound and inevitable? Brandon would apparently repudiate this possibility, but Werner seems in fact to come close to it. He is on the whole predisposed against rather than for conciliar orthodoxy, but does seem to agree that the fathers of the Councils were asking the necessary questions, although he doesn't particularly agree with their an-

swers. Brandon speaks of the "precisely formulated statement of belief in the Divine Son, who was *homousios* relative to the Father and the embodiment of Two Natures, Divine and Human, relative to mankind"—which I can only consider a caricature of the Chalcedonian definition of the one Christ who is perfect God and perfect Man, consubstantial with the Father as divine and with us as human. When one looks at it apart from orthodox familiarity with it, this is indeed a daring concept which it took the Church some time to arrive at, after exploring various attractive blind alleys such as the "angel-christology" to which Werner devotes so much attention. "We know thee human and divine" remains the basic Christian experience, and I suspect it is Werner's too in his personal capacity.

His book does suffer somewhat, however, from the professorial tendency to treat the history of Christian thought primarily as a literary and intellectual history, since after all our sources are literary. One feels that the early Church is treated as a seminar in which ideas meet each other rather than as a living religious community. Theology is after all an interpretation of the religion preached and practiced, and not a separate intellectual exercise. Werner does I think come too close to assuming that the early Christians had read Schweitzer too, and that the imminent *parousia* was the essence of their faith. Surely the essence of early Christianity was the conviction that Jesus is Lord, which was applied in various ways of which the expectation of his immediate coming in glory was only one. The delay of his coming presented a problem, but not quite the kind of problem that Werner conceives of.

As the last section of the book Werner has prepared a summary of the later history, from Nicaea to his own time, more extensively treated in his *Der protestantische Weg des Glaubens*, 1955. His own position seems on the whole to be a post-Kantian liberalism, and the theologians of the past generations do not seem to have spoken to his personal condition. However one is glad to note his final statement that Protestant faith will still have a word to speak on the great questions of Revelation, Christology, Redemption, and the Church. In philosophy and theology as in history Werner does seem to have found that the last forty years have had almost nothing to teach him—it does to an outsider seem a little surprising to find a Swiss theologian for whom Barth and Brunner might as well not have existed. But after all there is no reason why current fashions should dominate us all.

E. R. HARDY

*The Pursuit of the Millennium.* By Noman Cohn. Essential Books, 1957, pp. xvi + 476. \$9.00.

Readers who have not observed the changes which have come over mediaeval studies during the past twenty or thirty years will be surprised at this book, which is "a history of popular religious and social movements in Europe from the eleventh to the sixteenth century." It is largely the underworld of mediaeval religion which is here disclosed—a totally different world from that of the theologians and ecclesiastics who cross the stage in the usual books of church history. And yet it was the very same world—as some of the theologians themselves recognized, who dealt with firm hands in repudiating and refuting the tenets of these movements. It will no longer do to say, "The mediaeval view was. . . ." There were almost as many mediaeval views as there are modern. And in lieu of the uniform, close-knit, idyllic "ages of faith" we must recognize ages of turbulence, strain, brutality and bloodshed. The five centuries here studied were the direct predecessors and preparation for the Reformation and its aftermath down to our own times. In fact, the excesses of the popular movements of the middle ages bear a powerful resemblance to the excesses—frankly, the insanity—of the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century. History is not divided like a ship into water-tight sections; history is one steady *continuum*, from the most distant antiquity to the present. Those who say there are no patterns in history, and that it never repeats itself, have a hard case to prove: a universal negative, flying in the face of what are at least most impressive resemblances.

The book opens with an account of Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic, which passed on directly into the popular apocalyptic of mediaeval Europe. The Apocalypse of John (called the "Revelation" of John, in the English versions) was soon combined with new books of the "Sibylline Oracles", presumably a continuation of the ancient Roman collections but really far later in date, and the work of Jewish and Christian dreamers of the fourth and later centuries A.D. These two works, translated into various languages, and studied by fanatical typologists, allegorists, and numerologists (including astrologers) produced the most fantastic misinterpretations of history, past and contemporary—not to mention future. They encouraged the expectation of an earthly millennium, a transformed world in which the poor would come into their own, and kings, potentates, clergy, popes, barons, the rich nobility, and the Jews would all be banished, or, as it was often conceived, put to death in this world and sent to hell in the next. The



consequence was that "activists" eager to bring on the crisis would start movements which anticipated this future doom. The aiding and abetting causes of this social madness are now plain to see, thanks to the modern study of mediaeval social and economic history by such scholars as Pirenne, Bernheim, Heer, Heymann, and the authors of the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. As I myself tried to show, years ago, in articles on "The Economic Significance of Messianism" (*Anglican Theological Review*, Vols. VI-VII) and in my *Economic Background of the Gospels* (Oxford, 1926), the interconnections between popular religion and economic conditions are close and compelling. The present work not only takes the principle for granted but both proves and illustrates it up to the hilt. (And if the principle was true in the past, must it not be functioning in the present as well?)

Among added values in this work, apart from the depiction of the social background of the crusades, the antagonism between clergy and laity, the growing tension between the well-to-do and the proletariat of the industrial towns of the lower Rhine valley, the development of mediaeval capitalism (long before Calvinism was heard of!—*pace* Professor Tawney), there is further documentation in the appendix on the Ranters, who were almost the only English example of this mania, and who flourished under the Commonwealth. The notes are vastly suggestive for further reading and reference, and the double bibliography of ancient sources and modern works is simply superb. Everyone interested in church history, everyone interested in history for any reason, e.g. in the hope that we may be able thus to understand the world we live in now (irrational as it seems to be!), should read this book.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

*The Sicilian Vespers: a history of the Mediterranean World in the later thirteenth century.* By Steven Runciman. Cambridge University Press, 1958, pp. xiii + 356. \$5.50.

Often in history an event of no great moment in itself, particularly an act of violence, may come to have loud reverberations and shattering consequences. On Easter Monday, 1282, the Vesper bells of Palermo sounded the signal for the Sicilians to rise and slaughter the Frenchmen who had lorded it over them since the Papacy called in Charles of Anjou to drive from Italian soil the "viper brood" of the Hohenstaufen and to free the land from the hated Germans. No mere spontaneous insurrection of hot-tempered Sicilians—the massacre of the



Vespers was beyond reasonable doubt carefully planned by loyal adherents of the house of Frederick II; encouraged by Peter of Aragon, whose Queen had inherited the claims of Manfred; financially aided by the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, fearful of the loss of his throne. The rising was timed for the eve of the sailing of an expedition whereby Charles of Anjou hoped to overthrow the Greeks and restore the Latin Empire of the East. With the massacre, Sicily passed into the possession of the crown of Aragon, against which the then French Pope could do no more than hurl imprecations and excommunications. Consumed by hatred of the Germans and the Hohenstaufen, the Hildebrandine Papacy had run its full course; ahead lay papal vacancies scandalously prolonged by factional rivalries, the humiliation of Anagni, the Babylonish Captivity, the Great Western Schism—and the catastrophe of the Reformation. Because it had committed itself so deeply to the Angevin cause, Charles's downfall spelled the death of the universal papal monarchy and of its hope of imposing its authority upon the Greek East. Viewed from the perspective of its larger consequences, the Sicilian Vespers appears as one of the major turning-points in medieval history, as it is one of its most dramatic episodes.

Not, however, till we have passed page 200 do we come upon the exciting story of the "Great Conspiracy", with its facets of mystery. More than two-thirds of the book are devoted to the preceding thirty years, from the death of Frederick II (the papal Anti-christ)—years complicated and confused by the desperate and to us sub-Christian dealings of the Papacy to find a suitable prince to pit against the able though irregular Manfred and the attractive, treacherously murdered Conradin, heirs of the Hohenstaufen heritage in Italy. Runciman ventures the opinion that matters would have turned out more happily if Edmund of England had been chosen instead of the French Charles of Anjou, a man of unbounded ambition if brother to a saint (Louis IX). Such is the main action on a crowded stage replete with inter-dynastic marriages, the strife of Guelf and Ghibelline, intrigue, breach of faith, betrayal, treason, murder—all under the guise of diplomacy, wherein the popes play an unworthy part. We are witnessing the Papacy's loss, by reason of its vindictiveness and unscrupulous tergiversations, of the moral approval of Christendom, upon which its spiritual authority must always rest.

There is a secondary theme: the determination of the "Franks" to re-establish their recently lost Latin Empire of the East; and making

common cause with this, the Papacy's efforts to intimidate or coerce the schismatic Greeks into ecclesiastical submission, with Charles as a willing tool.

It would be difficult to name a man more competent to recount this necessarily involved narrative (and if at times it is not easy going for the reader it is not the author's fault) than the latest historian of the Crusades. His final chapter, "The Vespers and the fate of Europe", is both a clear summary and an arresting interpretation of an event which, because of its place in the complex of three decades preceding it, "altered fundamentally the history of Christendom". Here indeed we see nemesis at work!

PERCY V. NORWOOD

*The Doctrine of the Trinity.* By Cyril C. Richardson. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958, \$3.00.

To a degree, the christological dogma and the dogma of the Trinity have been the touchstone of orthodoxy and the special content of theology (the *logos of theos*). If they were not actually the work of the "Ecumenical" councils, they were at any rate promulgated by them and invested with great dignity.

It is a mark of the position of these dogmas that the great upheaval of the Reformation did not touch them. (The special concerns of the Reformation had something to do with it, no doubt.) Even in our own day, Karl Barth intends to base his thought upon strict Chalcedonian regularity.

This is not to say that the matter of the Trinity has never been reopened or forwarded since Patristic days. It was Hegel, the dialectic thinker, who appropriately enough did some fresh thinking about the Trinity in the thought of Joachim of Floris and from him was passed along to modern dialectic thinkers, Comte, Marx, Hegel.

In the book before us, we have not only fresh thinking about the Trinity, which is most welcome, but also a challenge to the dogmatic construct itself. It is not dogma, in his thought, but doctrine i.e. explanation of Christian revelation, without any more standing than any other explanation. As an explanation it is not useful, because "the solutions it offers are not illuminating." On the other hand, "it produces confusion."

Perhaps the following reproduces Richardson's thesis. The New Testament presents us with three symbols of God. But they are ambiguous. "Father," for example, is transcendent but also (like Son)

has an immediate relation to the world. Spirit and Son (especially when Son is identified as Logos) are hard to distinguish, since both represent God's action in the world. There are, on the other hand, distinctions within the eternal life of God. Primarily God is transcendent and also related to the world. The distinctions seem to be twofold, paradoxical. When the two cycles are put together, the three symbols do not accord with the eternal distinctions. The three of the former does not fit the two of the latter. Neither numerically nor qualitatively do the Biblical symbols and the ontological distinctions accord.

If a dogma is a dogma it may not be attacked. It may be debated, however, whether an alleged dogma is one indeed. No matter how ancient or well established, it may be questioned and reexamined. Richardson has every right to do what he does. It is a responsible work and a lawful one. One would not have dogmas challenged for the sake of original, deep thought. But when they are challenged such thought seems more likely to be forthcoming. It is one of the problems of the conventional and orthodox to keep their thought new and penetrating. Honest, also—Richardson speaks of a lot of Trinitarian thought as "subtle." There is another word which he might have used: "Rationalization". The reviewer will be a chastened, less glib Trinitarian in future.

The reviewer, just because he agrees with Richardson's extreme, centrifugal "modes of being" finds their oneness in a single Life not to be taken for granted but rather the dynamic work of a third "mode of being," the Spirit. Also the moral problem of embracing a Creator and a Redeemer in one heavenly life (evidenced by historical ideas of the Atonement, especially of the "objective" sort) points the same way. Also in a review of the Doctrine of the Trinity as fresh and as provocative as this one, a point of view more consistently existential might have been expected.

CLIFFORD L. STANLEY

*Theological Essays.* by Frederick Denison Maurice, with an introduction by Edward F. Carpenter. Harper & Brothers, 1957, pp. 331. \$5.00.

There has been a considerable revival of interest in F. D. Maurice and his theology. Two of the most vigorous contemporary Anglican theologians, Alec Vidler and Archbishop Ramsey, have written appreciative studies of his thought.\* Maurice's volumes are quickly ordered

\*A. M. Ramsey, *F. D. Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology*. A. R. Vidler, *Witness to the Light*.

when they appear on second hand book lists. The new edition of Maurice's *Theological Essays*, first published in 1853, is a further sign of interest in his work. This volume was published when Maurice was 48 and at the height of his powers. It consists of seventeen essays on the great themes of Christian faith and life. The first essay, "On Charity", sets the tone of the volume. Subsequent essays deal with Sin, Incarnation, Atonement, The Resurrection, Justification by Faith, Regeneration, The Holy Spirit, The Trinity, The Unity of the Church and so forth. Maurice is concerned with the faith of the Creeds. The concluding essay, On Eternal Life, led to his dismissal from the faculty of King's College, London, because of Maurice's scepticism concerning a doctrine of eternal punishment. Central to Maurice's theology and to this volume are the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity. He is an able and persuasive defender of these central Christian dogmas and the faith which coheres with them, the faith of the creeds. At the same time he is aware of the difficulties of faith and refuses to lay upon man's mind and conscience beliefs which he does not find to be essential.

What is one to say of Maurice one hundred years later? Is the current revival of interest in his work a passing fad or will Maurice's reputation continue to grow until he stands with Hooker, William Law and Joseph Butler as one of those few Anglicans whose work represents the best in the theological work of their time and marks out the lines for further advances?

Historically, there is no question of Maurice's importance. His was one of those seminal minds which influenced the work of subsequent thinkers perhaps more than his contemporaries. In a period when party lines were rigidly drawn, Maurice did not hesitate to sacrifice popular support and immediate influence to his deep conviction that theology must serve the Church and not a sect within it. His appeal was for a Catholic theology rather than sectarian polemics. Realizing that even this position could become the basis for fresh divisions, he struggled manfully to avoid being the founder a movement or school of thought.

In 1850 British theology was only beginning to emerge from the isolation which had characterised it for several centuries. In the *Theological Essays* Maurice demonstrates an awareness of currents of thought just beginning to appear on the horizon of the British theological scene. One might wish that he had set himself the task of mastering the scientific work of German biblical scholarship. This line of development was subsequently to be followed up by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A.

Hort who had imbibed the comprehensive spirit of Maurice. Nevertheless, Maurice in the *Theological Essays* shows a lively appreciation and penetrating criticism of David Straus so far as his theology is concerned.

Maurice is frequently described as a Christian Socialist. In his awareness of the revolutionary social processes at work in the Nineteenth Century, his passionate concern for the well-being of the lower classes in Britain and his analysis of the social implications of the Christian Gospel, Maurice was a prophet. His vision of the Church was a social vision. One does not find him the exaggerated individualism characteristic of the period generally. His vision of the Church as the divine society bore its fruits years later in the Guild of S. Matthew, the Church Social Union and the social concern of such men as Charles Gore and William Temple.

Granted his historical importance, what does Maurice have to say to us today? Is he worth reading apart from his historical interest? Paul Elmer More has observed of the Anglican divines of the Seventeenth Century that one turns to them not for finality but for a new spirit and direction in theology. The remark applies with equal force to Maurice. It is his method, his spirit, the direction of his thought which is most instructive. The *Theological Essays* deal with the central themes of Christian faith as they are found in the Creeds. His handling of these great themes is profound and illuminating. Even more striking than any conclusions reached is Maurice's apologetic method. He begins with the experiences and needs of human life generally. He takes seriously the objections which men commonly raise against the doctrine and does not hesitate to acknowledge the validity of the protest and to ally himself with its deepest intent. He then seeks to show that the real intention of the protest is met not by a rejection of Christian faith but by understanding it on a deeper level and recognizing its real meaning. Maurice demonstrates a remarkable sensitivity to those who find themselves outside the Christian Church. One feels that the problems he is dealing with have been his problems. He has won his way to a mature faith and would lead others along the same road. He asks only that a man seriously explore all the implications of his doubts, and, surrendering no aspect of the truth as he has found it, press on to the root of the matter. Maurice is convinced that if this is done, the theological principle at stake will emerge clearly and the sceptic will welcome it as the real answer to his doubt.

There is nothing new in Maurice's method. It is the classic method

of such great apologists as Justin Martyr, Origen, S. Augustine, S. Thomas, Hooker or Joseph Butler. What is striking is how rarely the method is used with real understanding and depth, how rare is the openness, charity, and insight of a really first rate theological mind. Maurice is a theologian of the first order and the method in his hands is illuminating and profound.

We have been told that Maurice is difficult to read, that he lacks the polished style of a Newman or J. S. Mill. His style is not a serious barrier to one who wishes to grasp the man's thought. The very fact that he cannot be read rapidly means that one is likely to focus upon the thought and not the language. One might expect that a book written more than a century ago with Unitarians primarily in mind would be marked by references to ideas and controversies long since forgotten. It is a part of Maurice's stature as a theologian that such is not the case. The common objections to the great Christian doctrines which he deals with are very much alive today. One is struck with Maurice's relevance.

This reviewer feels a certain reserve about attempting to assess Maurice's place in Anglican theology in a brief review. He does not hesitate to record his conviction that Maurice is worth considerably more attention than he has yet received, and that readers of the *Theological Essays* will find their serious efforts to come to grips with Maurice's mind timely and rewarding.

ROBERT J. PAGE

*The Christian Tradition and the Unity We Seek.* By Albert C. Outler. Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. xii + 165. \$3.25.

This book, with a Preface and five chapters, is the publication of the Richard Lectures at the University of Virginia in 1955. Perhaps its argument can be seen most summarily in the paragraph which introduces chapter iv:

"Thus far we have argued that the ecumenical movement is the great new fact in contemporary Christianity; that it has served to make Christians aware of their common history; that it has helped to restore the Christian sense of community within which full doctrinal consensus is a goal but not a precondition; that its basic covenant has been shaken and tested, but still holds firm--because the unity we seek has been fore-tasted in our present fellowship." p. 105.

This measure of success in the ecumenical endeavor which allows us to



call it "the great new fact" has been made possible by the willingness of Christians to recognize each other *as* Christians and the separated churches as churches, with no matter what reservations and notwithstanding whatever minimal mutual understanding of the degree of this recognition. But this, in turn, has been made possible by the condition of the covenant,—belief in Jesus Christ as God and Savior. On this basis, the separated communities of Christians have been able to look at their multiple traditions and in a growing degree to discern their dependence together on the originating *act* of tradition which was God's "handing over Jesus Christ to share our existence and to effect our salvation", and on the continuing *actus tradendi* by which the Holy Ghost causes the Christ-Event in "the long ago and far away" to be the ground of faith and of community in "the here and now".

But since the goal of the ecumenical endeavor is doctrinal consensus and *communio in sacris*, there is need for the active operation of the Christian sense of history for the recovery of "the dimension of time". This is why the ecumenical conversation cannot evade the exploration of the total Christian tradition and of the plural traditions of the several churches in this reference. Speaking of the patristic church, Dr. Outler remarks that in it

"as a whole, there is no essential opposition between Scripture, the rule of faith, and the teaching tradition—nor are they ranked in any invidious order. The church is directly bound to *actus tradendi* in her preaching and worship and, essentially, in the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. The Church is equally bound to the Scripture for it contains the primitive witness to God's *traditum*. The consilience of Scripture and tradition shapes the form of the church and guides its forward motion from 'the fullness of time' until 'the end of the age.'" p. 119

In the ecumenical encounter, if it continues as it has so far grown, the experience of Christian community transcending division and pre-saging its own consummation, is the only atmosphere in which what has yet to be done can be done. Dr. Outler's realism, which is throughout this book a prepossession characteristic, obliges him to admonish us that the ecumenical "honeymoon" is over and that the on-coming phases of the movement are almost certainly going to be more difficult than its earlier ones. In this prospect, "what matters most is that we shall become even more fully aware of the community that we actually *have*, even clearer than we are now as to the reality of our common Christian history." There are deep resistances to be overcome—inertia,



despair, and fear—to say nothing of the danger of indifference widespread in the grass-roots of the churches, a danger of leaving the ecumenical enterprise to an “ecumenical coterie”. This is why Dr. Outler was glad to say what he had to say before a University: for it must be in a new generation of laymen and pastors that the ecumenical concern must deeply take root. Towards what is to be directed their zeal, their patience, and their understanding?

“First and foremost, the unity we are seeking is the fullness—and the fulfilment—of the unity that we have, . . . Again, we seek a unity in Christian hope. . . . Again, we are seeking a fullness in our unity of Christian worship. . . . Any unity in worship among Christians, however, must mean a sacramental community—and this too belongs to the unity we already have, albeit in tragic ambiguity. . . . Finally, we seek a unity in love, God’s love which calls out our love for all our brethren.”

To this reviewer what Dr. Outler has written seems, in the present state of the ecumenical movement, and behind that, of the whole Christian movement itself, eminently just and indeed inevitable. In the face of the fragmentation of the Christian community in which we stand, some time, by some men, the way to unity must be begun. It has now been begun, and it has achieved at least that without which the way to unity could never in any circumstances be pursued,—the willingness of Christians to explore their divisions with some degree of mutual recognition, some willingness to engage in amicable and patient discussion instead of competitive polemic. It has achieved at least as much as Dr. Outler claims it has achieved in the opening quotation of this review. And this, after all, is a great deal. Moreover, the ecumenical conversation has brought about precisely that confrontation of Christian history and tradition which the title of Dr. Outler’s book brings into such inevitable conjunction with the unity we seek. Whatever disagreements with the main argument of the book may arise would be important as being precisely the kind of things that should be said and can be said in the ecumenical conversation.

Yet there are many questions and considerations that will arise from the reading of this book—and that is as it should be in the reading of any good book. Of these, this reviewer would ask indulgence briefly to speak of one.

Dr. Outler speaks of the “authority common to all Christians” as being the self-manifestation of God in Jesus Christ in a divine act in

human history. His understanding of the Christ-Event is quite clear: the Event is "historical" and what he means by this is explicated at some length and further clarified by this paragraph:

"If it were demonstrable that the essential form of testimony about Jesus in the early church is wholly unreliable, if it can be shown that what we claim to know of the events *before* Easter and Pentecost cannot be significantly correlated with the events of Easter and Pentecost—then the honest conclusion would have to be drawn that Easter and Pentecost were *theophanies*, that the originative event of Christianity is not really historical after all. In this case, Christianity would have to stand among the mystery cults (with their symbolic stories of gods who 'lived' and 'died' and 'rose again'), or among the wisdom cults (like that of Apollonius of Tyana) or become a religious philosophy (which is essentially what Bultmann proposes it to be)." p. 44.

Now, the question must arise whether, in the present state of the churches, of New Testament scholarship, and of contemporary theological construction, the originative Christ-Event, as "the authority common to all Christians", will find ecumenical agreement, on the crucial point of the meaning of its historicity, to any greater extent than, for instance, Dr. Outler's own opinion (which certainly he shares with the majority of all Christians) that "the development of the Trinitarian and Christological dogmas was an integral expansion of the original tradition and its revelation of the nature and purposes of God." While the majority of all Christians hold this view, it is not certain that the majority of all Christians actively participating in the ecumenical movement hold it. On the other hand, as to the "historicity" of the Christ-Event (including both the Virgin Birth and the Empty Tomb), the vast majority of Christians affirm it—in their churches' traditions and official formularies. But in plain contemporary reality, the originative Gospel-Event is as likely to meet with as diverse constructions, in the ecumenical conversation, as, let us say, the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon.

This is in no way at all a criticism of Dr. Outler's book. On the contrary, this reviewer finds himself in substantial agreement with it and regards it as a most hopeful ecumenical signal. He rather wishes only to suggest that at the present juncture what may cause the greater travail for the measure of ecumenical community that already exists will be, not the things that are presumed to divide the churches but those things which are presumed to constitute "the common authority"

to which they all adhere. Perhaps, however, the ecumenical growing-edge offers a better vantage-point for perceiving what the present juncture is than the several churches have within themselves—or at least appear to recognize. The greatest achievement for our time that could be hoped for in the ecumenical movement is a growing unity among all Christians in that certainty—without which there can be no witness—concerning those things about which above all other things Christians must be certain.

WILLIAM H. NES

*Comparative Liturgy.* By Anton Baumstark; revised by Bernard Botte, OSB, Eng. edited by F. L. Cross. Newman Press and A. R. Mowbray and Co., 1958, pp. xix + 249. \$6.50.

The name of Dr. Anton Baumstark is associated with that of Dom Odo Casel, OSB, of Maria Laach, in the scholarly phase of the liturgical revival. Dom Casel, A. L. Mayer and he collaborated as editors of the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*. His fifty-year academic career at Heidelberg, Bonn, Nijmegen and Munster was terminated by his death in 1948. A layman all his life, he came to his study of liturgics from a background of classical philology and oriental studies. (*O felix!*) Steeped as he was in the methods of comparative linguistics, and possessing an encyclopaedic knowledge of early liturgical documents, he developed what he called the "comparative method" of studying the history of liturgy. The volume in hand is an exposition and demonstration of that method.

The book has had a long history. It began in 1932 as a course of lectures given to the Monks of Union in their house at Auray-sur-Meuse. Prof. Baumstark arrived at the monastery with German notes. He prepared a French text with the help of one of the members of the community. The French text was revised and published by Baumstark himself in 1939. In 1952 it was further revised, documentation verified, and a valuable bibliography added, by Dom Bernard Botte, OSB, himself a distinguished liturgical scholar. Dr. F. L. Cross has prepared the present English edition. We owe him a debt of thanks.

There are ten chapters. The first two deal with the method of comparative study of the liturgy and a statement of some laws of liturgical evolution derived by means of it. The remaining eight apply these results to a minute study of (1) liturgical prose texts, (2) liturgical poetry, (3) liturgical use of scripture, (4) liturgical action, and (5) the liturgical calendar.

The comparative study of liturgics is quite simply a careful comparison of the differences and agreements between liturgical texts of different provenance in the light of ethnic, cultural and linguistic characteristics of the regions where the liturgies in question developed, and in the light of the known historical relationships between the regions. The author uses the results of his comparisons to establish a priority of liturgical forms and to isolate or derive the most primitive form—after the manner, he says, of comparative linguistics—or after the manner of any textual criticism, for that matter. Baumstark is quite clear that a historical fact is a fact, not to be explained away by theological dogma or by those preconceived ideas which seem to be the professional hazard of liturgiologists. Furthermore he insists that liturgical history must be consistent with political and ecclesiastical history in general. These are obvious requirements of sound scholarship, but we can rejoice that their importance is here so clearly understood, so boldly stated and so fruitfully used.

On the other hand, Baumstark naively claims for his method a degree of scientific reliability which it does not have. "In its method, then, the Comparative Study of Liturgies approximates to that of the natural sciences." (Comparative linguistics and comparative biology.) "This method, as we know, is of necessity an empirical one. . . . It is only its subject matter which belongs to Theology. But the student's treatment of it does not differ from the comparative procedure in use in the exact sciences." To this it must be replied that the "laws" deduced by such a procedure are not logically necessary, but simply empirically convenient. A new piece of evidence which does not fit them overthrows them—as the natural scientists themselves recognize better in 1958 than they did in 1932! Therefore any reconstruction of a primitive liturgical form by such a means is not at all equal to a historical reality, no matter how precisely the methodology is used. One has only to recall Rahlfs's reconstruction of the LXX text to recognize the pitfalls inherent in such a procedure as Baumstark proposes. Fortunately Botte is alert to these difficulties, and discusses them perceptively in his Forward.

Moreover there is a certain unsatisfactory ambiguity about some of the laws. The first one which the author adduces, for example, is that liturgical life proceeds from variety to uniformity. (This suggests Streeter's similar hypothesis about episcopacy. Is there an underlying principle at work here which might unify many features of the early church?) But once the uniformity is achieved, local variation at

once breaks out to disturb the uniformity. The second law is that liturgical forms proceed from simplicity to richness. But once a rich and prolix form reaches certain unmanageable proportions, there is a reverse tendency to simplify. What drops out, however, is usually the *primitive* layer. (e.g. Old Testament lections at the Eucharist, taken over from the synagogue service, were first read in addition to the New Testament lections, then were omitted.)

Now we may agree at once that both these laws accurately formulate what happened. Baumstark's own examples drawn from a formidable fund of far-ranging knowledge are more than convincing, and Anglicans can add other examples from the history of our own liturgy. But in view of the fact that the "laws" work both ways, how do they help us to understand a given liturgical form whose relations are otherwise unknown? How can we tell whether variation is on its way out or on its way back? The "laws" may in fact be two-edged swords, which a person with knowledge and insight can wield with brilliance. Baumstark has done so. In the hands of a lesser scholar, their application as if they were logically necessary could be self-destructive, or else so ambiguous as to be meaningless.

After this ungracious criticism, the reviewer must pay tribute to the astonishing coherence which Baumstark has brought to vast quantities of strangely diverse liturgical data. His "laws" if not logically necessary, have at least great synthesizing power; and perhaps this is all that we should require of them. The laws that "the older a text is, the less it is influenced by the Bible," and that "the more recent a text is, the more symmetrical it is" (p. 59), are surely right.

It is gratifying to notice the insistence on the importance of the Jewish liturgy in the formation of early Christian liturgies. The author points out several instances in which the church has preserved a first century Jewish rite better than the synagogue (e.g., the phrase, "world without end"). As a matter of fact, how about baptism?) Baumstark's handling of the feast of Candlemas is a good example of his virtuosity. He suggests that the procession with candles was originally a Roman pagan custom, introduced into Jerusalem in the fifth century by a Roman lady (here an obscure writing by Cyril of Scythopolis is cited). It was then exported from Jerusalem back to Rome, attached by this time to the Presentation in the Temple. Similar examples of wide learning and synoptic power could be multiplied.

Baumstark's work on the great feasts has much in common with that in MacArthur's *Evolution of the Christian Year* in its account of

how purely historical commemorations overlaid celebrations of the mystery of redemption, though the former work antedates the latter by two decades.

*Comparative Liturgy* is not an easy book. It is neither popular nor a work of 'haute vulgarisation', as Dix described *The Shape of the Liturgy*. It is a technical and advanced liturgical study by a master of the field, and I should think no one seriously interested in the ancient liturgies could afford not to read it.

CHARLES PRICE

*The Kingdom of Free Men*. By G. Kitson Clark. Cambridge University Press, 1957. pp. 214. \$3.50.

Dr. Kitson Clark, in this book founded on lectures sponsored by the Divinity Faculty of Cambridge, explores "the relationship of 'Christian principles'—whatever these may be—to the great debate about forms of government which goes on without ceasing in the world at large".

After a chapter outlining the "great debate", between the liberal democracies and the communist totalitarian States, succeeding chapters deal with Religious Persecution in Europe since 1945, Christianity and Liberal Democracy, Freedom, and Freedom and Christianity. The last two chapters deal with the infection of sin which taints every political system, and with the redemptive work of God in Christ, the King of the kingdom of free men.

It is, to this reviewer, an immensely moving and heartening book. Dr. Kitson Clark writes from a vantage point, philosophically, which the writer shares, that of an "unrepentant liberalism" which not only accepts freedom as a condition of man's existence but elevates it into the guiding principle of all true life. Yet freedom is far from complete and far from pure. Ignorance and blindness limit it on one side and the other, and sin corrupts it from within. Therefore, in the classic liberal enterprise, the advocate of freedom—the true liberal—must needs everywhere come to terms with the limitations of freedom, and forgiveness and love must become the final and brightest roles which freedom plays.

"And when they came to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand and the other on the left. Then said Jesus: Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. That last sentence [continues the author] ought probably to be printed at the beginning of all history books, both as a prayer and as a statement of fact". This is the concluding level



of the book's thought—that the end of man's journey, the end of all human roads, is “a place of public execution. This is the capital of the kingdom of free men, and there, ruling from the gallows, is the King”.

The book lacks the pungent phrases of Niebuhr and his use of paradox. Cool, detached, immensely respectful of other opinions, Dr. Kitson Clark writes far more as an essayist than a preacher. Yet it is all there—all the sense of judgment, all the provocative, sometimes infuriating sense of man's responsibility and of his stupidity and pride as well. The book will bring little comfort to anybody looking for easy answers. It will not favor either the believer or the secularist skeptic in this respect.

But it will bring great comfort (in the ancient sense of that word as well as the contemporary) to any true liberal; if he is a Christian, so much the better; but I am not sure but that the book would not help him toward Christian faith, in any case. It is an excellent, heartwarming, thoughtful piece of work.

STEPHEN F. BAYNE, JR.

## NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

*The Servant of God.* By W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias. Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957, pp. 120. \$2.25.

The *Studies in Biblical Theology* series is to be congratulated upon publishing an English translation of Zimmerli and Jeremias, *Pais Theou* which appeared originally in Kittel's *Theologisches Woerterbuch*. Bit by bit the major articles of this great dictionary are being put into English dress and the present monograph is one of the most detailed and comprehensive in this outstanding work. Its bibliography is extensive and even lists several works since the publication in Kittel in 1952. The discussion is heavily documented with almost five notes to the page. There is also appended a biblical index.

Zimmerli has the opening section on the use of ebed in the O. T. both in its

secular and religious connotations and also the section on the translation of ebed in the LXX. Various equivalents are employed of which pais and doulos are the most common. The variant renderings of ebed in the different O. T. books are cited, indicating with the subsequent preference for the more servile doulos in the later books, “the growing awareness of the specific O. T. consciousness of the distance between God and man.”

Jeremias discusses the usage in the post—LXX Judaism and points out the difference between Hellenistic and Palestinian interpretation of the pais theou of Deutero-Isaiah. For the former it is collective but for the latter certain Isaian ebed passages were interpreted of the Messiah. With the second century A. D., anti-Christian polemic was concerned to undercut Christian exegesis and the Mes-



sianic implications were minimized. The early pre-Greek Church followed Palestinian Judaism in using the Isaian ebed texts messianically. The later Gentile N. T. strata avoided the title pais for Jesus on account of its lowliness.

Jeremias concludes with the question "Can Jesus have known Himself to be the Servant of God?" After making certain qualifications for the presence of later composition in the gospel references, Jeremias concludes that Jesus did so regard Himself. However the scarcity of such texts and their absence from the Q material indicate that "Jesus only allowed himself to be known as the servant in his esoteric and not in his public preaching."

On this latter point there may be a difference of opinion. Occasionally the argument seems to force the evidence as in the case of the Johannine Lamb of God passages, p. 82. Torrey for example had kept Lamb of God in his translation. There is always a problem when one tries to go behind the N. T. documents to their earliest sources. What, for example, is Pauline and what are pre-Pauline? However, the authors have given us all the relevant literature and we can come to our own conclusions on some of these minor points. The student who wishes to pursue the subject of the divine servant in the biblical literature will find this monograph a first-class guide. This is a book to be used and studied. It is concise and closely reasoned. Accordingly, it is not easy reading and particularly so for the student without Hebrew and Greek, but it will repay the effort.

C. C. R.

*The Wrath of the Lamb.* By Anthony Tyrrell Hanson. S. P. C. K., 1957. pp. x + 249. 25s.

It is curious that no full-length study of the Biblical concept of the Wrath of God has been attempted since Albrecht

Ritschl's *De Ira Dei* in 1859. This is all the more remarkable since the past hundred years have seen great changes in the presentation of this doctrine in Christian theology. Traditional dogmatics read the earlier Old Testament conception of the Wrath into the New Testament. Wrath and love were two equal affections of God reconciled by the propitiatory sacrifice of the Cross. Liberal theologians, such as Rashdall, agreed that this conception was to be found in the New Testament. However, there is one exception, in the teaching of Jesus. Therefore they sought to eliminate the whole doctrine from Christian theology. The Biblical revival of the thirties led to somewhat half-hearted attempts to reinstate the traditional doctrine (e. g., A. B. Macaulay and R. V. G. Tasker). The one fruitful contribution of this period was C. H. Dodd's attempt in his Moffatt Commentary on Romans to discover in Paul an impersonal doctrine of the Wrath which should be viable today.

Anthony Hanson, one of the younger scholars of the Church of Ireland, and for the last ten years a theological teacher in the Church of South India, has now presented a full-length study on the Biblical doctrine of the Wrath. Working at such a distance from the libraries of the Western world, he has achieved an outstanding triumph over tremendous odds. Each relevant passage in the Old Testament, Intertestamental literature, and New Testament, is discussed in detail with reference to the standard commentaries in English and occasionally to such German works as the Kittel Wörterbuch. Slowly and surely his thesis is built up that there is a distinctive New Testament doctrine of the Wrath as an impersonal process working out in history, a process of law-sin-wrath, reinforced after the advent of Christ by the equally historical and impersonal process of gos-

pel-unbelief-wrath. This latter is not eschatological: the parousia is simply the final revelation of the historical process. As the title suggests, the high point of the New Testament doctrine of the Wrath—and here Dr. Hanson parts company with Dodd—is to be found in the Apocalypse, where “the wrath is both revealed on the Cross as the most terrible consequences of the most terrible sin, and also the rejection and crucifixion of the Messiah (and subsequent persecution of the Church) effect in themselves judgement on those who brought them about” (p. 179).

For different reasons both liberals and conservatives will react allergically to the thesis of this book. But their reaction will have to be substantiated by the same process of patient exegesis which Dr. Hanson has so painstakingly pursued.

R. H. F.

*The Interpretation of the Bible.* By James D. Wood, Gerald Duckworth (distributed in U. S. A. by Allenson, Naperville, Ill.), 1958, pp. vi + 184. \$2.75.

This is a sketch of the way in which the Bible has been interpreted up to the present time. “Interpretation” is used primarily of the work of theologians, while “exegesis” and “exposition” are reserved mostly for “biblical specialists.” “From time to time attention is drawn to the factors which have influenced the writers”—but not often enough, especially in regard to the early Christian exegetes. The study of twentieth-century interpreters is perhaps the most interesting part of the book, but it does not really show how confusing the results of theoretical studies have been.

A few striking errors deserve mention. Theodoret's name was not Theoderet (pp. 58-59). Augustine's *City of God* does not contain forty books (p. 86). Danièleu wrote *Sacramentum Futuri*, not *Sacra-*

*mentum Futurum* (p. 161). And the present pope is Pius XII, not Pius XX (p. 168). And it is hard to see what is meant by the assertion that Origen “brought the interpretation of the Bible to a more satisfactory condition than that attained by any of his predecessors” (p. 55). What does “satisfactory” mean?

R. M. G.

*The Hebrew Iliad: The History of the Rise of Israel under Saul and David.* By Robert H. Pfeiffer and William G. Pollard. Harper and Brothers, 1957, pp. 154. \$2.50.

If you like to read old favorites in modern dress, try this one.

In this little book Pfeiffer offers his own translation of “The Early Source of Samuel” (“A”, “Sa”, “SI”)—including “The Court Narrative” (“C”, “David's Biography”)—in lucid, lapidary, and sometimes even racy English. By way of appendix he includes also much of the material from *Judges*. In a twenty-page introduction Pollard justifies his use of “Iliad” for this ancient epic, promises its sequel “The Odyssey” (the “J” narrative in the Pentateuch), and gives an intelligent, though uncritical, description of the O. T. material being presented.

After reading the enticing introduction and fresh translation, one must agree with Pollard that “as truly great literature” this epic does “deserve to be widely known and read on its own merits” (whatever that might mean in reference to biblical literature), even if one cannot add “quite apart from its relationship to the Bible” (however that might be possible for literate Christians).

Pollard admits frankly his heavy dependence upon the works of W. R. Arnold, R. H. Pfeiffer, and C. A. Simpson. Major criticisms, therefore, do not concern this attractive little book as much as the rigidity and inadequacy of approach to ancient Israelite epics characterizing Pol-

lard's mentors. If one accepts their literary and theological positions—as Pollard seems to without question—one must then applaud this presentation of them in simple, fresh dress.

R. L. H.

*Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.* By J. Wellhausen. Verlag Walter De Gruyter & Co., 9th ed., 1958, pp. 371. DM. 19.80.

The volume before us which is listed as the ninth edition is a reprint without change of the seventh edition which appeared in 1914. It is not to be confused with Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* which appeared in English translation in 1885 and has now come out in paper back form. The 1905 edition of the latter is used in the present volume. The period covered is the whole Israelite and Jewish history as indicated by the title. After an introductory chapter on geography etc. the history proper begins with the Exodus with a mere passing reference to the patriarchal age and is carried through the fall of 70 A. D. A supplementary chapter is appended upon the beginnings of Christianity. Wellhausen's life work stands as a monument in the history of criticism. This volume which includes discussion of Hebrew religion, literature and life will introduce the reader to an epoch of biblical criticism. It is to be read over against the background of such recent treatments as that of Noth.

C. C. R.

*The Book of Wisdom: An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* By Joseph Reider. Harper & Brothers, 1957, pp. xi + 233. \$5.00.

Dr. Reider has made a creditable addition to an eminently useful series of publications. The Dropsie College Edition of the Jewish apocryphal literature has a well-conceived pattern of presentation, to

which Dr. Reider's volume conforms. The customary questions are discussed in the introduction, and the text, reprinted from A. Rahlfs' Württemberg Bible Society edition, with an original translation and erudite and always relevant notes, occupies, as it should, roughly four-fifths of the available space. The result is a compact, readable, handy book that will commend itself to any person who is interested in this most influential and baffling apocryphal work.

What the author, whoever he was, meant to accomplish by writing the book is not entirely evident. The dates suggested range from the end of the third century, B. C. to the first century A. D.; the lack of tight organization encourages suspicions of multiple authorship; much has been written about a hypothetical "Hebrew original" for the whole book or portions of it; and a great deal of time has been spent in an examination of the author's ideas, style, vocabulary, and relation to known events. On many of these points we are still as far from certainty as we have ever been.

Dr. Reider has sensibly chosen not to aggravate the confusion by attempting to solve the riddle in some fresh way. Instead he has aimed at striking a balance of probabilities. His position does justice to such concrete data as the work provides. "The Book of Wisdom is later than Ben Sira . . . and the Septuagint of the Prophets and Hagiographa . . . and earlier than Philo's writings and the New Testament books" (p. 14). It is a Greek work written by one person "at different times" (p. 22), and its theology is "an amalgam of Greek philosophy with Jewish religion" (p. 29). The details are adequately set forth in the introduction, with valuable amplifications in the notes. One is left with the total impression that the author of the Book of Wisdom had many connections with the

intellectual and religious life of his time, but was not a thinker of the first rank—and this in all probability was actually the case. His experiments with philosophical idiom are not always successful, but we must not be misled by them into concluding that he was anything but an orthodox Jew.

Perhaps in unconscious imitation of the author the editor is himself inclined to handle philosophical and theological terms loosely. For example, he tells us that the Pharisees "appropriated" the "strictly Platonic" doctrine of the immortality of the soul (p. 33). Most of us would say that the Pharisees believed, as the Old Testament dimly and tentatively believes, in the resurrection of an indivisible human whole, of which the body, according to Hebrew realism, is an essential part. Dr. Reider's neglect of precision in his treatment of so important a question is a trifle disappointing.

W. C. K.

*Jeremiah: Prophet of Courage and Hope.*

By J. Philip Hyatt. The Abingdon Press, 1958, p. 128. \$2.00.

In the Interpreter's Bible, Prof. Hyatt gave us a full dress treatment of Jeremiah. In the ten short chapters of the present work we have a bird's eye view of the book and the man. The first two chapters are introductory, concerned with the character of the prophets in general and the historical setting of the period. The next three follow Jeremiah's prophetic career from Anathoth to Egypt. The most interesting and rewarding section is ch. 6-9 which were delivered as lectures at Texas Christian University. They cover the personality, religious experience and message of the prophet. It is here that the author ably defends his title. Instead of the lachrymose pessimist of pious tradition Jeremiah is indeed a "prophet of courage and hope." There are permanent values here as the last chapter indicates and they are brought

out clearly and succinctly. Prof. Hyatt writes with full knowledge of the history of the period, the critical research on Jeremiah and the latest archaeological findings. However critical problems are kept in the background. Not everyone, of course, will agree with all of his critical judgments. It seems unnecessary to date the beginning of Jeremiah's ministry as late as the author holds. If the Temple Sermon of c. 7, 26 was Jeremiah's first public utterance he would hardly have had the opportunity to acquire the following which supported him in the crisis. Also a minor point, there seems to be more repetition than really necessary in a book which runs to less than 110 pages of actual text. Nevertheless here is a workmanlike introduction to a book of the Bible too much neglected. It can be given to college students. At the same time it has valuable insights for the professional theologian. Witness the all too brief discussion of the new covenant on p. 106f and the observation that there is not a new law but rather the implication that "men must have a new motivation and a new power to keep the law."

C. C. R.

*The Gospel Jesus Preached.* By S. MacLean Gilmour. The Westminster Press, 1957, pp. 238. \$3.75.

This is a useful attempt to develop further the lines laid down by Hans Windisch in his *Meaning of the Sermon on the Mount* (translated by Gilmour) and to provide a historical reconstruction of the gospel of Jesus which lies behind the gospel about Jesus. Well aware of the difficulties involved in the historical study of the gospels, Professor Gilmour shows that to a considerable extent they can be transcended, and that from historical exegesis emerges theological exegesis as a "necessary corollary and natural complement." Among the significant

points which he makes are his insistence on Jesus' eschatology as "in process of realization" (Jeremias, Dodd), on the dissimilarity between Jesus' teaching and that given at Qumran, and on the correctness of some of the insights which "liberal theology" possessed in regard to the ethical import of Jesus' teaching.

As the pendulum of theological concern is beginning to swing (I believe) toward more interest in Jesus as a historical person (an interest really required by any non-mythological doctrine of the Incarnation), the importance of studies like this will be increasingly recognized, and it will be seen that *The Gospel Jesus Preached* makes a significant contribution.

R. M. G.

*Introducing the New Testament.* By Archibald M. Hunter. Westminster Press, 2nd, revised & enlarged ed., 1957. pp. 208. \$3.00.

War-time restrictions in 1945 prevented Dr. Hunter from dealing with all the books of the New Testament in the first edition of this work. The present edition is a complete introduction, with the chapters of the earlier edition included in revision. It is a competent, moderately conservative, up-to-date survey, presented in simple untechnical language. Hunter has a gift for summarization, for terseness, and for the use of striking words and phrases. A useful bibliography is supplied.

*Introducing New Testament Theology.* By Archibald M. Hunter. Westminster Press, 1958. pp. 160. \$2.50.

In size and scope this volume is a companion to the author's *Introducing the New Testament*. The same clarity and sprightliness of language are here, but it is a slightly more difficult book if still relatively untechnical. Once again, it is a competent, relatively conservative survey

of the present posture of New Testament theology. Some matters are considerably over-simplified, perhaps unavoidably in a book this size. A particular, and particularly British, kind of Christology is advanced as if it were the clear an unanimous verdict of the Gospels, and there is the common but still surprising confidence in one's ability to read Jesus' mind. There is some confusion in the use of the phrases "Jesus himself" and "the Fact of Christ"; the latter appears to be an emotive-conative phrase that is attractive because it looks like it isn't one.

*Origen, The Song of Songs, Commentary and Homilies (Ancient Christian Writers No. 26)* Translated and Annotated by R. P. Lawson. The Newman Press, 1957. pp. vi + 386. \$4.00.

The newest volume of the valuable ACW series presents the first complete English version of Origen's important expositions of the Song of Songs—preserved. It is true, in translations by Rufinus and Jerome, but translations whose general accuracy there is no reason to doubt. R. P. Lawson's translation is sound and attractive, and his commentary useful. For Origen the Song of Solomon had a double allegorical sense, the Bride being both the redeemed soul and the Church. Consequently his *Commentary and Homilies* deal with mystical theology and ecclesiology, topics implied rather than formally expounded in his better-known works. He rises to great heights on both topics which makes the availability of these works especially welcome—an extra negative seems to have strayed into Lawson's observation that

If we reflect upon the full import of Origen's exegesis of the Canticle of Canticles, we cannot but be very certain that for the Fathers there was no treatise *De Ecclesia*. (p. 7):

*Canticles* seems indeed to have been the book where the Fathers looked for the

biblical basis of the theology of the Church, much as we do to Ephesians. The legitimacy of this interpretation need not be discussed here—personally I would agree with Origen's defense of it on the ground that love is love, and *eros* and *agape* are related by way of analogy as well as contrast (Prologue to *Commentary*). He errs, I would say, not in perceiving the mystical sense, but in all but despising the literal—though his observations on the latter are about as sound as scholars have achieved since, namely that *Canticles* presents the dramatic picture of a bride longing for her beloved (the translator need not capitalize here), from which however no continuous narrative can be made out. But he leaves the literal sense as soon as possible—for him it is only “when our love descends to baser levels, then we love flesh and blood” (p. 284)—failing to see that the simple joy of human love has its place in the Bible too. Nobly as Origen here writes of the Church, she was surely right in finally seeing a heretical tendency in his spiritualizing approach. However this tendency is always balanced by others in his own writings, as here by the emphasis on the principle that the mystical Bride of Christ is the same as the concrete visible Church with its Bishops, priests, and deacons, teachers and catechumens (“priests” on p. 100, by the way, and “presbyters” on p. 192, both represent *presbyteri* in Rufinus' Latin and doubtless in Origen's Greek). One cannot go further here, but these notes will show how much of general interest there is in the two works here so attractively presented to us.

E. R. H.

*La Chevalerie de Judas Macabé.* By J. Smets. Assen, Belgium: van Gorcum & Co., 1955. pp. lxxxiv + 327. 14.50 florins (=approx. \$3.65).

The fortunes of Biblical characters in mediaeval romance have generally been

neglected by students of the Bible. But (beside their quaint charm) they are interesting as examples of the literary development of sacred tradition, a process which probably underlies considerable parts of the Bible itself. Therefore we have reason to welcome this edition of a thirteenth-century Provençal romance, no further removed in time from the composition of II Maccabees than are many of the Old Testament texts from their supposed prototypes in ancient Near Eastern literature.

The story starts with the submission of the Jews to Anthiocus (sic), King of Macedon, who then sends a hermit to Tholomé, King of Egypt, to demand his submission, and himself subjects Antigonus, King of Syria. It thereupon follows II Maccabees, with a faithfulness worthy of its source, through the wars against Lisiars, Gorgias and his cousin Conradin, Duke Andefois of Sidon, and similar characters; it works in considerable sections from the bestiary of Pierre le Picard; and it concludes, after the death of Judas in a great battle against the “Sarrasins”, with his brothers' recovery of his body and of his faithful charger Arondel. The text has been edited with great care by Dr. Smets, who has provided a full introduction (dealing with manuscripts, authorship—Pierre du Riés?—sources, grammar, versification and palaeographic details); full notes; several appendices on particular points, and a glossary. Typographically the book is exquisite, as van Gorcum's books customarily are.

M. S.

*The Greek Novella in the Classical Period.* By Sophie Trenkner. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1958, pp. xv + 191. \$5.50.

Here at last is a book our students can consult in their search for the *novella* which Bultmann and others have said is one of the typical “forms” used—or

taken—by the gospel tradition during its oral period. The story begins far back in Greek literature, and continues for many centuries. In the later period, during the days of the New Comedy and later, the stories told, the anecdotes, the *novellae* concerning not only prominent persons but typical stage characters (the girl in love, the miser, the parasite, etc.) come to be quite scandalous and risqué. But there is no question of their popularity. This was the folk-tale in its most naked realism, reflecting not so much the life as the thought of the time—just as the dirty novels of today reflect the minds of authors and readers far more than the actual mores of society. Whether the *novella* really did provide a “form” for the gospel tradition I very much doubt: it seems to me the anecdotal stories found in the midrash and Talmud (Jewish folk tales) are far closer in form and subject matter than the Greek *novellae*. But we certainly owe Miss Trenkner a debt for surveying the field—without, of course, any reference to New Testament research.

F. C. G.

*The Spirit of the Spanish Mystics.* Compiled and translated by Kathleen Pond. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1958. pp. xi + 170. \$3.95.

This anthology of Spanish religious prose from the 15th to the 17th century will interest many outside the Roman Catholic church, who are concerned for the cultivation of the inner life by prayer, meditation, and contemplation. It is surprising how widely the mystical view of religion has spread in modern times, and how much interest there is in it both within and without the church. It is surprising also how widespread it was in Spain in the period here covered, the period of foreign conquests—and defeat (the Armada!). Of course Spain was a Catholic country, and never has been anything else. The translator quotes the

dying words of Cervantes in illustration: “Farwell, graces, farewell, jests, farewell, my merry friends; I go on my way a-dying and soon I hope to see you all happy in the life to come.” F. C. G.

*The Theology of the Sacraments and Other Papers.* By D. M. Baillie, with a biographical essay by John Baillie. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957. pp. 158. \$3.00.

Donald Macpherson Baillie, who died in 1954, is best known in America for his classic essay on Incarnation and Atonement. *God was in Christ*, published in 1948. Most of the present volume was not written by Dr. Baillie for publication, but, rather, was delivered as a series of lectures on the Moore Foundation in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California, in 1952. The dominant tone of the book is thus pastoral, even devotional, but this in no sense detracts from its first-rate scholarship. The author is speaking personally and intimately to a group of fellow Christians preparing for the Christian ministry; and he speaks as one having authority, and not as the scribes, an authority born of nearly twenty years as a parish minister in the Church of Scotland. To this reviewer, the book is a masterpiece of Christian communication, refreshingly free of theological jargon, illuminated by a deep and lively faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.

A feature of the volume is a moving and appreciative biographical memoir, written by brother John, who lovingly prepared the book for the press. In addition to the lectures on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, there is reprinted an article originally done for the *Scottish Journal of Theology*, entitled “Philosophers and Theologians on the Freedom of the Will”, and an eminently wise address to ministers on “The Preaching of Christian Doctrine”.



The Bishop of Derby, Dr. A. E. J. Rawlinson, said of Donald Baillie that he was a man of "sensitive, equable and lucid mind". These intellectual qualities are everywhere evident in his discussion of the gospel Sacraments. He has a fine appreciation of the place of the Book of Common Prayer in the life of the devout Anglican, and of the intimate and essential connection between liturgy and life which characterizes Catholicism at its best, whether Anglo, Roman or Eastern. Yet he never leaves in doubt his own deep affection for the Reformed tradition which had nourished him from his youth up and in which he lived and moved and had his being as a Christian. When all is said and done, the book is a gem!

J. O. H. JR.

*Essentials in Christian Faith.* By John B. Harrington. Harber & Brothers, 1958, pp. 272.

Professor Harrington's book grows out of his experience in teaching a course called Basic Christian Beliefs at Lewis and Clark College. It is a sound well organized survey of the topics usually considered in such a course. The discussions of the major themes in Christian doctrine are concise and to the point, if somewhat limited in scope. In the space allowed some important matters are slighted. Anglican readers will be disappointed that there is no consideration of prayer and worship, for example. The author writes from the Reformed tradition and appears to be well read in contemporary American theology. The book will undoubtedly be used in college courses similar to the one which produced it. In such a situation, where the chapters are used to introduce the major Christian doctrines and to stimulate further discussion and reading, the book will be a useful one. An excellent bibliography for each of the topics considered is included in an appendix.

R. J. P.

*Theology in Conflict: Nygren-Barth-Bultmann.* By Gustaf Wingren. Translated by Eric H. Wahlstrom. Muhlenberg Press, 1958, pp. 170. \$3.25.

Though Dr. Wingren was born in Lund, Sweden, and is currently Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Lund, he cannot be fitted neatly into the pattern of a "Lundensian theologian". His task in the present volume is to make a critical analysis of the philosophical presuppositions of three leading contemporary theologians, examining in Part I their anthropological views, and in Part II their hermeneutical positions. He is concerned to ask only one leading question of each of the men considered: Are the anthropological and hermeneutical presuppositions tenable on the basis of scripture? The author's own view of scripture is that of a conservative Lutheran, rather "pre-critical" if not fundamental in tone. For him, the gospel in the New Testament implies a liberation from bondage, the bondage of the Law, and it is questionable whether this aspect of the gospel appears clearly in modern theology, as represented by Nygren, Barth, and Bultmann. Barth is criticized for emphasizing the Incarnation and Virgin Birth at the expense of the Atonement and Resurrection; Barth's anthropology is defective because of its assumption that man's chief lack is an adequate knowledge of God rather than freedom from sin and guilt; for Wingren, "Barth . . . is simply a modern man who takes over quite uncritically the general attitudes of contemporary culture." (!) The "motif research" of Nygren, and the "demythologizing" of Bultmann both come in for some heavy criticism, too; Nygren's view of *agape* does not provide an answer to the question of guilt; Bultmann has "spiritualized" the Law in his interpretation of the New Testament *kerygma*, reversing the New Testament order of

law and gospel and making of no significance the Christian proclamation that something has happened in Christ once and for all. These samples of the volume's thought will indicate its provocative character, calculated to raise the theological hackles of many a reader. It would seem to be a kind of minority report from the Lundensian camp, and is worthy of serious attention by students of the currents of 20th Century theology.

J. O. H. JR.

*One Faith and Fellowship: the missionary story of the Anglican Communion.*  
By John Seville Higgins. Seabury Press, 1958, pp. xiv + 226. \$4.50.

Since John S. Higgins published his useful *Expansion of the Anglican Communion*, 1942, the second World War and the eclipse of Colonialism have changed the face of the earth. The disintegration of the British Empire has forced Anglicanism to stand on its own merits as a major division of Christendom.

Now the Bishop of Rhode Island, Dr. Higgins with wider experience and an official commission returns to a theme especially dear to his heart. This book was undertaken at the request of the Anglican Sub-Committee of the Joint Commission on Ecclesiastical Relations, and is designed to be to the forth-coming Lambeth Conference what the volume (*The Anglican Communion*) edited by Bishop Wand was to the Conference of 1948: a report on what we have accomplished and where we now stand in world-missions and Church extension. Every churchman ought to be informed on what the Archbishop of Canterbury (Foreword) has called "a fascinating and exhilarating story". If there are a few minor slips, these may easily be forgiven to a bishop writing in moments snatched from administrative duties.

32 pages of delightfully drawn maps supplement and illuminate the text.

P. V. N.

*Handbook of Moral Theology.* By Dominic M. Prummer, O. P. Adapted for American Usage. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1958, pp. 477. \$4.00.

This is a summary of a four volume work by its author as a refresher for the students of the extended and reasoned treatise who are preparing for theological examinations or who as parish priests need to 'touch up' their knowledge of Moral Theology. Some of our older clergy found a similar work by Heribert Jone useful for such purposes. Jone as a Franciscan, however, followed the structure employed by such Jesuits as Thomas Slater and Henry Jones—that is the Ten Commandments. Prummer as a Dominican loyal to St. Thomas uses, like his brethren McHugh and Callan, the Theological and Cardinal Virtues and their derivatives and accordingly may be more serviceable as a reference work to Anglicans who follow Mortimer and Kirk. Incidentally Kirk introduced Prummer to us as one who brought the method of dealing with the doubtful conscience known as *compensationism* into use. Here we have a welcome addition to the growing literature in *English* of Roman Catholic Moral Theology.

H. H. H.

*Principles of Christian Worship.* By Raymond Abba. Oxford Univ. Press. 1957, pp. xiv + 196. \$2.75.

This is an attractively written introduction both to the historical significance of liturgy and to the practical matter of planning public worship in modern Protestant congregations. The author is a learned English Congregationalist, and we can unhesitatingly recommend this book to our Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist friends.

The historical material is elementary,

but there is much else here from which Anglicans well may profit. The treatment of preaching and hymns as integral parts of the Sunday liturgy is admirable. Mr. Abba insists that no man can be an adequate preacher of the Word of God unless he observe a daily rule of serious study and prayer. Anglican clergy, as he points out, must remember their age-old obligation of reciting Daily Matins and Evensong.

This book will be an unpleasant surprise to those who still suppose there is something "Romish" in holding to the Eucharist as the norm of Sunday morning worship. This author reproaches those Reformed ministers who in recent years have imitated the Anglican Matins on Sunday. For, as he says, the traditional Calvinist (and Lutheran) Ante-communion at least points toward the Eucharist, whereas Matins, for all its beauty, is properly only a daily clerical office. Mr. Abba loves and admires the Book of Common Prayer, but his criticisms of Anglican usages are often penetrating. His arguments for an Old Testament lection in the pro-anaphora are unanswerable. He deplores the unscriptural individualism of the modern Protestant individual communion cups; the same reasoning suggests no little impropriety in our modern Anglican individual wafers. Of course we prefer to forget such questions.—it is "safer" to go on arguing endlessly over post-communion collects and other irrelevant trifles. How often, one wonders, do Anglican schemes for Prayer Book revision only serve to concentrate our attention on petty details, while questions which involve basic issues are carefully ignored?

H. B. F. JR.

*The Secret of Meditation.* By Hans-Ulrich Rieker. Philosophical Library, 1957. pp. 176. \$6.00.

This book deals with what is called in technical circles *contemplation*—the ex-

traordinary way of prayer. Meditation, as the masters of orison in Christianity regard it, belongs to the *ordinary* life and employs all aspects of mental activity on some phase of *God's revelation of Himself* and its relation to the praying individual. *That* does not come within the purview of Mr. Rieker. What he is concerned with is mysticism. As a Buddhist monk, he has a great deal of valuable technique to commend as a way of achieving the mystic state. Christian mystics come into consideration only in the last chapter and then only in so far as they illustrate previously established positions. The points at which they are unique escape attention. H. H. H.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

Titles recently added to the *Harper Torchbooks* series:

*A History of Philosophy.* By Wilhelm Windelband. 2 volumes, TB 38, 39, \$1.75 ea.

*Kierkegaard: Edifying Discourses.* A Selection, with Introduction by Paul L. Holmer. TB 32, \$1.95.

*An Augustine Synthesis.* By Erich Przywara. TB 35, \$1.95.

*Primitive Culture.* By Edward Burnett Taylor.

Vol. I. *The Origins of Culture.* TB 33, \$1.75.

Vol. II. *Religion in Primitive Culture.* TB 34, \$1.95.

*On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers.* By Friedrich Schleiermacher. Introduction by Rudolf Otto. TB 36, \$1.60.

*The End of the Roman Empire in the West. The Barbarian Conquests and the Transition to the Middle Ages: A. D. 430-565.* By Edward Gibbon. The J. B. Bury edition, illustrated. TB 37, \$1.95.

- Four Bishops and their See. Perth, Western Australia, 1857-1957* Edited by Fred Alexander. Foreword by His Grace the Archbishop of Perth. Netherlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1957, pp. 250. Bds. 22/6, Paper 6/
- Sacred Doctrine. An Introduction to Theology.* By Edwin G. Kaiser. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1958, pp. 344. \$4.50.
- Dogmatic Theology.* By G. Van Noort, trans. and rev. by John J. Castelot and Wm. R. Murphy. Newman Press, 1957.  
*Vol. I. The True Religion.*  
*Vol. II. Christ's Church.*
- Religion, Philosophy and Science. An Introduction to Logical Positivism.* By Burnham P. Beckwith. Philosophical Library, 1957, pp. 241. \$3.75.
- Judaism and Modern Man.* By Ben Zion Bokser. Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 153. \$3.75.
- The Credo of Maimonides: A Synthesis.* By Carol Klein. Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 143. \$3.75.
- From Whence Came You. A Tale of the Early Beginnings of Free Masonry.* By Morton Deutsch. Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 248. \$4.75.
- The Illuminated Book, its History and Production.* By David Diringer. Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 524. \$25.00.
- The Evidence of God in an Expanding Universe.* Forty American Scientists Declare their Affirmative Views on Religion. Edited by John Clover Monsma. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958, pp. 250. \$3.75.
- Human Relations and Power.* By Albert Mueller-Dehan. Philosophical Library 1958, pp. 410. \$3.75.
- Cosmic Symphony.* By H. R. Vanderbyll. Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 54. \$2.75.

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## A Note by the Editors

THE ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW is now in its fortieth volume. For these years it has been an unofficial organ of the colleges and theological seminaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It has been supported, as a labor of love, by a group of the Church's scholars. Since its foundation, in 1918, it has never had, and has not now, any "overhead" of any kind—salaries, expense accounts, or staff. Its only expenses are for the printing and distribution of the REVIEW. Its resources include subscriptions, a small income from advertising (of theological seminaries), and annual cash contributions made by members of the Editorial Board and the Cooperating Institutions—eleven theological seminaries and four church colleges. Since 1927, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary has generously provided an office for the REVIEW. It has always been solvent, and continues solvent today, in spite of periods of inflation, depression, and general economic disturbance. It was founded during World War I, has survived World War II, and we hope to keep it going through the years to come.

It exists to serve the Episcopal Church and specifically the theological interests of its clergy and other members. But it is also read by many persons outside the Episcopal Church; a large proportion of the subscribers are libraries, public, college and university, and theological. To all alike it seeks to interpret the Anglican tradition and outlook in theology, a tradition and an outlook which combine wide freedom with firm conviction, comprehension with catholicity, broad sympathy and understanding with a basic loyalty to the Christian faith "as this Church hath received the same."

Your subscription is earnestly solicited, if you are not now a subscriber. And if you are in a position to share with us in subsidizing the REVIEW, a larger contribution will be most welcome.

*Subscriptions and financial contributions* should be sent to the Rev. Percy V. Norwood, 600 Haven Street, Evanston, Illinois.

*Contributed articles* should be sent to the Rev. Sherman E. Johnson, S.T.D., 605 Woodmont Avenue, Berkeley 8, California.

*Book Reviews* should be sent to the Rev. Holt H. Graham, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia.

*Inquiries relating to back numbers* of the REVIEW, including sets (a very few sets are still in stock), should be addressed to the Rev. Percy V. Norwood, 600 Haven Street, Evanston, Illinois.

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